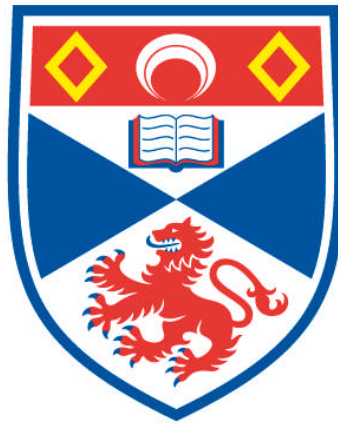


**MERGING AND DIVERGING
THE CHRONICLER'S INTEGRATION OF MATERIAL FROM
KINGS, ISAIAH, AND JEREMIAH IN THE NARRATIVES OF
HEZEKIAH AND THE FALL OF JUDAH**

Amber Warhurst

**A Thesis Submitted for the Degree of PhD
at the
University of St Andrews**



2011

**Full metadata for this item is available in
Research@StAndrews:FullText
at:**

<http://research-repository.st-andrews.ac.uk/>

Please use this identifier to cite or link to this item:

<http://hdl.handle.net/10023/1916>

This item is protected by original copyright

MERGING AND DIVERGING

***The Chronicler's Integration of Material from Kings, Isaiah, and
Jeremiah in the Narratives of Hezekiah and the Fall of Judah***

A Thesis Submitted to the Faculty of Divinity
In fulfilment of the requirements
For the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

AMBER WARHURST

St Mary's College
University of St Andrews
St Andrews, Scotland

March 2011

ABSTRACT

The phenomenon of inner-biblical interpretation and inter-textual replication of scriptural material within the Old Testament is receiving significant attention in current scholarship. Two narratives which are repeated three times in the Hebrew Bible provide a particularly fruitful case study for this type of research: the Hezekiah narrative (2 Kgs 18-20; Isa 36-39; 2 Chr 29-32) and the account of the fall of Judah (2 Kgs 24-25; Jer 52; 2 Chr 36). This study extends the contributions of redaction-critical, literary-critical, and text-critical studies examining the narratives in 2 Kings 18-20//Isaiah 36-39 and 2 Kings 24:18-25:30//Jeremiah 52 and emphasizes their subsequent reception in Chronicles. In addition, this investigation advances the discussion of the Chronicler's reliance upon and method of incorporating material from the Latter Prophets. It is the conclusion of this thesis that the Chronicler was familiar with the versions of the Hezekiah narrative and the account of the fall of Judah in both 2 Kings and the Latter Prophets. His method of handling these alternative accounts reflects both direct quotation (particularly in the case of 2 Kings) and indirect allusion to themes and idioms (with regard to the Latter Prophets). The result is a re-telling of Judah's history which is infused with hope for restoration as articulated by the Latter Prophets. By portraying an idealized account of Israel's past history which corresponds to prophetic descriptions of the nation's restoration, Chronicles illustrates the accessible, utopic potential held out to every generation of faithful Israel.

DECLARATIONS

I, Amber Warhurst, hereby certify that this thesis, which is approximately 73,000 words in length, has been written by me, that it is the record of work carried out by me, and that it has not been submitted in any previous application for a higher degree.

Date

Signature of Candidate

I was admitted as a research student in September, 2005 and as a candidate for the degree of PhD in August, 2006; the higher study for which this is a record was carried out in the University of St Andrews between 2005 and 2010.

Date

Signature of Candidate

I hereby certify that the candidate has fulfilled the conditions of the Resolution and Regulations appropriate for the degree of PhD in the University of St Andrews and that the candidate is qualified to submit this thesis in application for that degree.

Date 29.03.2010

Signature of Supervisor

COPYRIGHT DECLARATION

In submitting this thesis to the University of St Andrews we understand that we are giving permission for it to be made available for use in accordance with the regulations of the University Library for the time being in force, subject to any copyright vested in the work not being affected thereby. We also understand that the title and the abstract will be published, and that a copy of the work may be made and supplied to any bona fide library or research worker, that my thesis will be electronically accessible for personal or research use unless exempt by award of an embargo as requested below, and that the library has the right to migrate my thesis into new electronic forms as required to ensure continued access to the thesis. We have obtained any third-party copyright permissions that may be required in order to allow such access and migration, or have requested the appropriate embargo below.

The following is an agreed request by candidate and supervisor regarding the electronic publication of this thesis:

Access to all of printed copy but embargo of all of electronic publication of thesis for a period of 2 years on the following ground: publication would preclude future publication.

Date 19 May 2011

Signature of Candidate

Signature of Supervisor

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

St Andrews, Scotland has provided an ideal setting for the research and writing of this thesis, primarily because of the many communities which have nurtured me academically, relationally, and spiritually during the process.

The staff and faculty of St Mary's College have greatly influenced the scope of this project as well as my perspectives on pedagogy and issues related to my discipline. I am grateful for the organization of seminars, teaching and tutoring opportunities, availability of the faculty for formal and informal consultation, efficiency of the administrative staff, and generous provision of study space, library acquisitions, and research support which have made this time in my life enjoyable as well as academically constructive.

Principally, this thesis has benefited from the gracious supervision of several remarkable scholars. Prof Christopher Seitz provided the impetus to come to the University of St Andrews and nurtured this project through his own insight and enthusiasm for the subject. Dr Mark Elliot and Prof Kristin De Troyer offered their expertise, suggestions, and encouragement at crucial points in my research. Above all, I am grateful for Dr Nathan MacDonald who faithfully supervised the project through to its completion, offering indispensable support and insight at every turn. I am deeply honoured to be his pupil.

During this time in St Andrews, the students and families connected to St Mary's College and All Saints Episcopal Church have been a remarkable source of joy and companionship. These friendships will, no doubt, be for life. I am especially thankful for the camaraderie of my fellow Old Testament/Hebrew Bible colleagues, above all, Daniel Driver and Tim Stone who have been generous sounding boards and sharpening stones. This experience would have been greatly impoverished without the prayer support and companionship of Mariam Kamell and Gisela Kreglinger as we journeyed together in the PhD.

I am indebted to the many people who have read this thesis and have contributed their critical feedback in order to encourage me toward more careful scholarship and clearer communication: Marcia Hornok, Esther Hayden, Dr Ingrid Hjelm, Dr Bill Tooman, Dr John Jarick, and Dr Paul Warhurst.

Were it not for the encouragement of my dear friends at the former Salt Lake Theological Seminary, I would not have undertaken or completed this project. They cheered me on, prayed for me, discussed my work with me, flew me home, and supported me financially. Of that community, Tom McClenahan deserves particular mention for his friendship and mentorship.

My family has unconditionally loved me, financially supported me, agreed against their will to let me live so far away, and feigned interest in my research. Most of all, they have nurtured my love for Biblical Studies through their own faith and dedication to Scripture.

The gestation of this thesis has been accompanied by two pregnancies. Though they are not aware of how rich they have made my life, I am thankful for my children who have brought levity, balance, and patience to this research experience. Thank you, Ruby Joy, for making me smile multiple times each day and for being such a good sleeper and letting me work. Thank you, Margot Grace for giving me something to look forward to and for staying inside until after this thesis was submitted!

Above all, I am grateful to my dear and loving husband, Paul, who is the real hero of this time in my life. He never ceased to believe in me and graced me often with words of affirmation and wisdom in spite of my own self-doubts; he eagerly listened to my ideas, read my work, and dialogued with me about the details of my project. Most of all, he prayed for me and loved me without reservation; all of this while working part-time to support our family, being an exceptional husband and father, and undertaking PhD research and writing of his own. It is to him that this thesis is affectionately dedicated.

*Thy love is such I can no way repay;
The heavens reward thee manifold, I pray.*

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Abstract	iii
Declarations	iv
Copyright Declaration	v
Acknowledgments	vi
Table of Contents	viii
Abbreviations	xi
Chapter 1 INTRODUCTION	1
The Chronicler's Reliance on Biblical Sources	5
<i>The Date of the Composition of Chronicles</i>	5
<i>Literary Dependence of Chronicles on Samuel-Kings</i>	7
<i>Literary Dependence of Chronicles on the Latter Prophets</i>	15
The Chronicler's Method of Integrating Texts	27
<i>Deliberate and Coincidental Dependence</i>	29
<i>From Allusion to Quotation</i>	35
<i>Motivations and Limitations of the Chronicler's Reuse of Biblical Texts</i>	39
Methodological Considerations	46
PART I:	
THE HEZEKIAH NARRATIVE:	
2 KINGS 18-20; ISAIAH 36-39; 2 CHRONICLES 29-32	51
Chapter 2 THE HEZEKIAH NARRATIVE IN 2 KINGS 18-20 AND ISAIAH 36-39	53
Comparison of the Hezekiah Narratives in 2 Kings and Isaiah	54
<i>Figure 2.1: Comparison of the Hezekiah Narratives in 2 Kings and Isaiah</i>	56
The Direction of Influence between 2 Kings and Isaiah	58
The Function of the Hezekiah Narrative in the Book of Isaiah	64
<i>Sequence of the Three Scenes</i>	64
<i>Transition from Assyria to Babylon</i>	67
<i>Contrast between Ahaz and Hezekiah</i>	71
<i>Contextualization of the Hezekiah Narrative</i>	77
The Function of the Hezekiah Narrative in the Book of Kings	81
<i>Contextualization of the Hezekiah Narrative</i>	81
<i>Contrast between Ahaz and Hezekiah</i>	86
Conclusion	96
Chapter 3 THE HEZEKIAH NARRATIVE IN 2 CHRONICLES 29-32	99
Literary Dependence in 2 Chr 29-32	100

<i>Table 3.1: Comparison of the Introductory Report of the Reign of Hezekiah</i>	101
<i>Table 3.2: Comparison of the Concluding Report of the Reign of Hezekiah</i>	102
Structural Comparison of the Hezekiah Narratives	102
<i>Table 3.3: Structural Comparison of the Hezekiah Narratives</i>	105
Verbal Correspondences between Isaiah and 2 Chr 29-32	111
<i>Language from Isaiah in the Chronistic Speeches</i>	112
<i>Language from the Latter Prophets in the Chronistic Speeches of Hezekiah</i>	119
Thematic Correspondences between Isa 36-39 and 2 Chr 29-32	125
Conclusion	140

PART II: THE ACCOUNT OF THE FALL OF JUDAH: 2 KINGS 23:30b-25:30; JEREMIAH 52; 2 CHRONICLES 36 143

Chapter 4 THE FALL OF JUDAH IN 2 KINGS 23:30b-25:30 AND JEREMIAH 52 145

Comparison of the Account of the Fall of Judah in 2 Kings and Jeremiah	146
<i>Table 4.1: Comparison of the Account of the Fall of Judah in 2 Kings and Jeremiah</i>	147
The Direction of Influence between 2 Kings and Jeremiah	148
The Portrayal of Judah's Exile in the Book of Kings	154
Hope for Restoration in the Book of Kings	157
The Portrayal of Judah's Exile in the Book of Jeremiah	167
Hope for Restoration in the Book of Jeremiah	172
Conclusion	175

Chapter 5 THE FALL OF JUDAH IN 2 CHRONICLES 36 179

Literary Dependence in 2 Chr 36	180
<i>Table 5.1: Structural Comparison of the Accounts of the Fall of Judah</i>	181
Verbal Correspondences in 2 Chr 36	184
<i>The Reign of Jehoahaz</i>	184
<i>Table 5.2: Comparison of the Reign of Jehoahaz</i>	186
<i>The Reign of Jehoiakim</i>	188
<i>Table 5.3: Comparison of the Reign of Jehoiakim</i>	189
<i>The Reign of Jehoiachin</i>	192
<i>Table 5.4: Comparison of the Reign of Jehoiachin</i>	193
<i>The Reign of Zedekiah</i>	196
<i>Table 5.5: Comparison of the Reign of Zedekiah</i>	198
<i>Synopsis of the Chronistic Portrayal of the Last Four Kings of Judah</i>	200
<i>The Destruction of Jerusalem</i>	202
Thematic Correspondences between Jeremiah and 2 Chr 36	209
<i>The Preservation of the Temple Vessels</i>	209

<i>The Seventy Years of Exile</i>	211
<i>The Exile as a Sabbath Rest</i>	213
<i>Cyrus as God's Agent of Restoration</i>	216
Hope for Restoration in the Book of Chronicles	220
Conclusion	224
Chapter 6 CONCLUSION	227
BIBLIOGRAPHY	237

ABBREVIATIONS

AB	Anchor Bible
ABD	<i>Anchor Bible Dictionary</i> , David Noel Freedman (ed.)
AJBI	<i>Annual of the Japanese Biblical Institute</i>
AJSL	<i>American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures</i>
AnBib	Analecta biblica. Investigationes Scientifical in Res Biblicas
ATD	Das Alte Testament Deutsch
ATM	Altes Testament und Moderne
ATR	<i>Anglican Theological Review</i>
BASOR	<i>Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research</i>
BAT	Botschaft des Alten Testaments
BBB	Bonner biblische Beiträge
BEATAJ	Beiträge zur Erforschung des Alten Testaments und des antiken Judentums
BET	Beiträge zur biblischen Exegese und Theologie
BETL	Bibliotheca ephemeridum theologiarum lovanensium
<i>Bib</i>	<i>Biblica</i>
BIS	Biblical Interpretation Series
<i>BJRL</i>	<i>Bulletin of the John Rylands Library</i>
BJS	Brown Judaic Studies
BKAT	Biblischer Kommentar Altes Testament
<i>BN</i>	<i>Biblische Notizen</i>
<i>BO</i>	<i>Bibliotheca orientalis</i>
<i>BSac</i>	<i>Bibliotheca Sacra</i>
<i>BTB</i>	<i>Biblical Theology Bulletin</i>
BWANT	Beiträge zur Wissenschaft vom Alten und Neuen Testament
<i>BZ</i>	<i>Biblische Zeitschrift</i>
BZAW	Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft
<i>CBQ</i>	<i>Catholic Biblical Quarterly</i>
ConBOT	Coniectanea Biblica Old Testament Series
CSBS	<i>Canadian Society of Biblical Studies/Société canadienne des Études bibliques Bulletin</i>
<i>CTM</i>	<i>Concordia Theological Monthly</i>
<i>CurBS</i>	<i>Currents in Research: Biblical Studies</i>
<i>DBSup</i>	<i>Dictionnaire de la Bible, Supplément</i>
DSS	Dead Sea Scrolls
DtrH	Deuteronomistic History
EH	Europäische Hochschulschriften
ESHM	European Seminar in Historical Methodology
<i>ET</i>	<i>Eglise et Theologie</i>
EV	English Version
<i>ExpTim</i>	<i>Expository Times</i>
FAT	Forschungen zum Alten Testament
FOTL	Forms of the Old Testament Literature
FRLANT	Forschungen zur Religion und Literatur des Alten und Neuen Testament
FzB	Forschung zur Bibel

<i>HAR</i>	<i>Hebrew Annual Review</i>
HAT	Handbuch zum Alten Testament
HBS	Herders Biblische Studien
<i>HBT</i>	<i>Horizons in Biblical Theology</i>
HCOT	Historical Commentary on the Old Testament
HKAT	Handkommentar zum Alten Testament
<i>HS</i>	<i>Hebrew Studies</i>
HSM	Harvard Semitic Monographs
<i>HTR</i>	<i>Harvard Theological Review</i>
<i>IBS</i>	<i>Irish Biblical Studies</i>
ICC	International Critical Commentary
Int	Interpretation
<i>JETS</i>	<i>Journal of the Evangelical Theological Society</i>
<i>JBL</i>	<i>Journal of Biblical Literature</i>
<i>JHS</i>	<i>Journal of Hebrew Scriptures</i>
<i>JNES</i>	<i>Journal of Near Eastern Studies</i>
JPSTC	The Jewish Publication Society Torah Commentary
<i>JQR</i>	<i>Jewish Quarterly Review</i>
<i>JSP</i>	<i>Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigrapha</i>
<i>JSS</i>	<i>Journal of Semitic Studies</i>
<i>JSOT</i>	<i>Journal for the Study of the Old Testament</i>
JSOTSup	Journal for the Study of the Old Testament: Supplement Series
JSPSup	Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigrapha: Supplement Series
<i>JTS</i>	<i>Journal of Theological Studies</i>
KHAT	Kurzer Hand-Commentar zum Alten Testament
LHBOTS	Library of Hebrew Bible/Old Testament Studies (Formerly JSOTSup)
LXX	Septuagint
MT	Masoretic Text
NCB	The New Century Bible Commentary
NICOT	New International Commentary on the Old Testament
NEB	<i>New English Bible</i>
<i>NIB</i>	<i>The New Interpreter's Bible</i> , Leander E. Keck, et al (ed.)
OBO	Orbis biblicus et orientalis
OBT	Overtures in Biblical Theology
OTG	Old Testament Guides
OTL	Old Testament Library
<i>OTS</i>	<i>Oudtestamentische Studiën</i>
<i>PAAJR</i>	<i>Proceedings of the American Academy of Jewish Research</i>
PFES	Publications of the Finnish Exegetical Society
PIA	Publications of the Institute of Archaeology
<i>RB</i>	<i>Revue Biblique</i>
<i>RHPR</i>	<i>Revue d'histoire et de philosophie religieuses</i>
<i>RSR</i>	<i>Recherche de science religieuse</i>
<i>RTP</i>	<i>Revue de théologie et de philosophie</i>
SBEC	Studies in the Bible and Early Christianity
SBL	Society of Biblical Literature
SBLDS	Society of Biblical Literature Dissertation Series
SBLMS	Society of Biblical Literature Monograph Series
SBLSP	Society of Biblical Literature Seminar Papers
SBS	Stuttgarter Bibelstudien

SBT	Studies in Biblical Theology
SHCANE	Studies in the History and Culture of the Ancient Near East
<i>SJOT</i>	<i>Scandinavian Journal of the Old Testament</i>
SNTSMS	Society for New Testament Studies Monograph Series
SOTSMS	Society for Old Testament Study Monograph Series
<i>SR</i>	<i>Studies in Religion</i>
SSN	Studia Semitica Neerlandica
STT	Suomalaisen Tiedeakatemian Toimituksia, Sarja B
<i>StTh</i>	<i>Studia Theologica</i>
TOTC	Tyndale Old Testament Commentaries
<i>TynBul</i>	<i>Tyndale Bulletin</i>
<i>TZ</i>	<i>Theologische Zeitschrift</i>
<i>USQR</i>	<i>Union Seminary Quarterly Review</i>
<i>VT</i>	<i>Vetus Testamentum</i>
VTSup	Supplements to Vetus Testamentum
WBC	Word Biblical Commentary
WMANT	Wissenschaftliche Monographien zum Alten und Neuen Testament
<i>WTJ</i>	<i>Westminster Theological Journal</i>
<i>ZAW</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft</i>
<i>ZTK</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche</i>

Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION

In the late fourth century, Saint Jerome affirmed the importance of the book of Chronicles within the Hebrew Bible, stating: “Whoever claims to know Scripture without having knowledge of Chronicles, would make himself a laughingstock.”¹ Avrom Saltman, in his Introduction to Stephen Langton’s *Commentary on the Book of Chronicles*, offers this rejoinder to Jerome’s oft repeated dictum: “Anyone who claims to know *Chronicles* without having a thorough knowledge of *Scripture* would be making an even bigger fool of himself, for least of all books of the Bible can it be studied in isolation.”² This observation stresses the importance of reading Chronicles as one voice within a collection of scriptural witnesses, a quality which is accentuated by the density of verbal, structural, and thematic overlap, including, at times, extensive and verbatim repetition, between Chronicles and other portions of the Hebrew Bible.

The reappearance in Chronicles of material found elsewhere in the biblical corpus, as an illustration of the capacity of a text to be reappropriated in a new literary context and provided with fresh significance, constitutes the focus of the following

¹ Hieronymus *Epistole* LIII 8.

² Stephen Langton, *Commentary on the Book of Chronicles* (Ramat-Gan: Bar-Ilan University Press, 1978), 11, emphasis added.

investigation. Two narratives provide particularly fruitful case studies because of their three-fold duplication, appearing in 2 Kings, the Latter Prophets, and 2 Chronicles. The Hezekiah narrative occurs in 2 Kings 18-20, Isaiah 36-39, and 2 Chronicles 29-32 and the account of the fall of Judah is presented in 2 Kings 23:30b-25:30, Jeremiah 52, and 2 Chronicles 36. In both cases, significant verbal overlap between the passages demands the conclusion that some form of literary dependence contributed to their composition. In addition, both literary segments display signs of redactional layers prior to, or in the course of, their insertion into larger book-length complexes. One is therefore able to hypothesize about the history of the narratives from their earliest written versions, their placement within specific literary contexts, and their subsequent reception as seen through the reappropriation of the material in new literary contexts.

While much scholarly attention has been devoted to the historical development and theological significance of the stories of Hezekiah and the fall of Jerusalem leading up to and including their insertion in 2 Kings and the prophetic books of Isaiah and Jeremiah, scant consideration has been given to the reappearance of the material in Chronicles. The following investigation seeks to discern the methods, reasons, and effects of the Chronicler's integration of this antecedent literature into his own account of Judah's history. In particular, it is hoped that this analysis will advance the discussion of the influence of the Latter Prophets on the composition of the book of Chronicles. To this end, detailed examinations of the Hezekiah narrative in 2 Kgs 18-20 and Isa 36-39 and the account of the fall of Judah in 2 Kgs 23:30b-25:30 and Jer 52 will be followed by an analysis of the language, structure, and effect of the narratives in 2 Chr 29-32 and 36, respectively, in order to assess the nature of

overlap between the accounts and the Chronicler's purpose in assimilating pre-existing textual traditions in the creation of a new account of Judah's history.

This examination of Chronicles endorses the widely-held view that many of the textual traditions used by the author of the book were, in fact, some form of the scriptural texts now preserved in the Hebrew Bible.³ This conclusion is based on the high degree of overlap between Chronicles and other biblical material, including exact repetition of extensive passages found in Samuel-Kings and the Psalms,⁴ and strong

³ For the last two centuries, the Chronicler's relation to his source material and the extent to which it is identified as the biblical material that is available to the modern reader has been the topic of intense debate. Kai Peltonen surveys critical scholarship on this issue and describes a spectrum of views, ranging from the conclusion that the sources of Chronicles are entirely extra-biblical and non-extant to the deduction that the Chronicler only relied on other biblical books in the creation of his composition. See his discussion in "Function, Explanation and Literary Phenomena: Aspects of Source Criticism as Theory and Method in the History of Chronicles Research," in *The Chronicler as Author: Studies in Text and Texture*, ed. M. Patrick Graham and Steven L. McKenzie, JSOTSup 263 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1999), 18-69. The majority of scholars locate themselves somewhere between these poles, supposing that the Chronicler used both biblical sources, especially Samuel-Kings, and sources unknown to the modern reader. See the spectrum of views represented by F. C. Movers, *Kritische Untersuchungen über die biblische Chronik: Ein Beitrag zur Einleitung in das alte Testament* (Bonn: T. Habicht, 1834), 95-197; H. Ewald, *Geschichte des Volkes Israel bis Christus*, vol. 1 (Göttingen: Dieterich, 1843), 233-53; Johannes Hänel and Johann Wilhelm Rothstein, *Kommentar zum ersten Buch der Chronik*, KAT 18/2 (Leipzig: D. Werner Scholl, 1927); Gerhard von Rad, *Das Geschichtsbild des chronistischen Werkes* (Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer, 1930); Wilhelm Rudolph, *Chronikbücher*, HAT 1,21 (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1955); Jacob M. Myers, *1 Chronicles*, AB 12 (Garden City, New York: Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1965); Hugh G. M. Williamson, *1 and 2 Chronicles*, NCB (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1982); Raymond B. Dillard, *2 Chronicles*, WBC 15 (Waco, Texas: Word Books, 1987); Martin Noth, *The Chronicler's History*, trans. Hugh G. M. Williamson, JSOTSup 50 (Sheffield: JSOT, 1987); Sara Japhet, *1 & II Chronicles: A Commentary*, OTL (London: SCM Press, 1993); Gary Knoppers, *1 Chronicles 10-29: A New Translation with Introduction, Notes and Commentary*, AB (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 2004).

⁴ Specifically, 1 Chr 16:8-36 is a conflation of Ps 105:1-15; 96:1b-13a; and 106:1b, 47-48 and 2 Chr 6:41-42 quotes Ps 132:8-10. The repeated refrain "Give thanks to the LORD for he is good, for his steadfast love endures forever" (1 Chr 6:41; 2 Chr 5:13; 7:3, 6; 20:21) recurs in Ps 100:5; 106:1; 107:1; 118:1, 29; 136:1. For more on the Chronicler's literary dependence on the Psalms, see T. C. Butler, "A Forgotten Passage from a Forgotten Era," *VT* 28 (1978): 142-50; J. A. Loader, "Redaction and Function of the Chronistic 'Psalm of David,'" *Oud Testamentiese Werkgemeenschap in Suid-Afrika* 19 (1976): 69-75; A. E. Hill, "Patchwork Poetry or Reasoned Verse? Connective Structure in 1 Chronicles XVI," *VT* 33 (1983): 97-101; R. M. Shipp, "'Remember his Covenant Forever': A Study of the Chronicler's Use of the Psalms," *RQ* 35 (1992), 29-39; James W. Watts, *Psalm and Story: Inset Hymns in Hebrew Narrative*, JSOTSup 139 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1992), 155-68; John W. Kleinig, *The Lord's Song: The Basis, Function and Significance of Choral Music in Chronicles*, JSOTSup 156 (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1993); Kirsten Nielsen, "Whose Song of Praise? Reflections on the Purpose of the Psalm in 1 Chronicles 16," in *The Chronicler as Author: Studies in Text and Texture*, ed. M. Patrick Graham and Steven L. McKenzie, JSOTSup 263 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1999), 327-36; Howard N. Wallace, "What Chronicles Has to Say about Psalms," in *Chronicler as Author*, ed. Graham and McKenzie, 267-91.

verbal and thematic correspondence with material from the Pentateuch⁵ and the Latter Prophets. By way of introduction, this chapter will, at the outset, defend the plausibility of this view with regard to the books under consideration (Kings, Isaiah, and Jeremiah) based on the relative dating of the material. In the process, it will be revealed that in spite of the claim that biblical material functioned as a source for the Chronicler, those texts are not necessarily equivalent to the extant versions of the biblical accounts available to the modern interpreter. This point has methodological implications for a comparative analysis of Chronicles vis-à-vis other biblical literature.

A second objective of this chapter is to examine the techniques and implications of textual reuse observable in the book of Chronicles, with particular attention to the prophetic literature. It will be argued that Chronicles includes deliberate and coincidental, as well as verbal and thematic similarities with material in the Latter Prophets. This offers insight into the motivations and limitations of the Chronicler's handling of antecedent texts. Finally, examination of the form and use of written material in the book of Chronicles provides the foundation for discussing the methodology to be employed in the ensuing investigation of the Hezekiah narrative and the account of the fall of Judah. Both synchronic and diachronic questions will be asked for the purpose of illuminating the effect of the Chronicler's incorporation of pre-existing textual traditions.

⁵ The Chronicler alludes to genealogical, geographical, and narrative material from Gen, Ex, Num, and Josh. For a table of correspondences, see Ralph W. Klein, *1 Chronicles: A Commentary*, Hermeneia (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2006), 38. For more thorough discussion of the pentateuchal source used by the Chronicler, see Judson R. Shaver, *Torah and the Chronicler's History Work: An Inquiry into the Chronicler's References to Laws, Festivals, and Cultic Institutions in Relationship to Pentateuchal Legislation*, BJS 196 (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1989); Rolf Rendtorff, "Chronicles and the Priestly Torah," in *Texts, Temples, and Traditions: A Tribute to Menahem Haran*, ed. Michael V. Fox, et al. (Winona Lake, Indiana: Eisenbrauns, 1996), 259-66.

The Chronicler's Reliance on Biblical Sources

The Date of the Composition of Chronicles

Clearly, the relative chronological order of the material in Kings, Isaiah, Jeremiah, and Chronicles is an important foundational issue for the success of the proposed analysis. Arguments for the dating of Chronicles range from the sixth⁶ to the second⁷ century BCE. A working hypothesis for this thesis, which finds strong support among the scholarly majority, is that Chronicles was composed in the late- to mid-fourth century BCE.⁸ A date prior to this time can be ruled out by several internal features which indicate a Persian period provenance, including the decree of Cyrus (539 BCE; 2 Chr 36:22-23); a list of those who returned to Jerusalem after the exile (1 Chr 9:2-16); Jehoiachin's genealogy (1 Chr 3:17-24);⁹ an anachronistic reference to

⁶ Adam C. Welch, *The Work of the Chronicler: Its Purpose and its Date* (London: Oxford University Press, 1939), 155, 157; David Noel Freedman, "The Chronicler's Purpose," *CBQ* 23 (1961): 436-42 (441); Frank Moore Cross, "A Reconstruction of the Judean Restoration," *JBL* 94 (1975): 4-18 (14); James D. Newsome, "Toward a New Understanding of the Chronicler and his Purposes," *JBL* 94 (1975): 201-17 (215-16); Steven L. McKenzie, *The Chronicler's Use of the Deuteronomistic History*, HSM 33 (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1984), 25-26; Roddy L. Braun, *1 Chronicles*, WBC (Waco, Texas: Word Books, 1986), xxix; Dillard, *2 Chronicles*, xix; Mark A. Throntveit, *When Kings Speak: Royal Speech and Royal Prayer in Chronicles*, SBLDS 93 (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1987), 96-107.

⁷ Kurt Galling, *Die Bücher der Chronik, Esra, Nehemia – übersetzt und erklärt*, ATD 12 (Berlin: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 1954), 14-17; Otto Kaiser, *Introduction to the Old Testament: A Presentation of its Results and Problems* (Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1977), 183-85; Noth, *Chronicler's History*, 150-55; Ulrich Kellerman, "Anmerkungen zum Verständnis der Tora in den chronistischen Schriften," *BN* 42 (1988): 49-92; Georg Steins, "Zur Datierung der Chronik – Ein neuer methodischer Ansatz," *ZAW* 109 (1997): 84-92 (91-92). As early as the seventeenth century, Baruch Spinoza similarly posited a date for Chronicles well into the second century. Baruch Spinoza, "Theological-Political Treatise (1670)," in *The Chief Works of Benedict de Spinoza* (New York: 1957), 146.

⁸ This view has held the critical consensus for the last century. See Edward Lewis Curtis and Albert Alonzo Madsen, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Books of Chronicles*, ICC (New York: Scribner's, 1910); Peter Ackroyd, *I & II Chronicles, Ezra, Nehemiah* (London: SCM Press, 1973); Williamson, *1 and 2 Chronicles*; Japhet, *I & II Chronicles*; Jonathan E. Dyck, *The Theocratic Ideology of the Chronicler*, BIS 33 (Leiden: Brill, 1998); Leslie C. Allen, "The First and Second Books of Chronicles," in *NIB*, vol. 3, ed. Leander E. Keck, et al. (Nashville: Abingdon, 1999); Kai Peltonen, "A Jigsaw with a Model? The Date of Chronicles," in *Did Moses Speak Attic? Jewish Historiography and Scripture in the Hellenistic Period*, ed. Lester L. Grabbe, JSOTSup 317 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2001), 225-71; Gary Knoppers, *1 Chronicles 10-29: A New Translation with Introduction, Notes and Commentary*, AB (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 2004); Steven L. McKenzie, *1-2 Chronicles* (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 2004); Klein, *1 Chronicles*, 30-35.

⁹ Assuming modestly that each generation is an average of twenty years, the last recorded person is between 140 and 280 years after Jehoiachin, or 460-320 BCE. Japhet, *I & II Chronicles*, 26. Isaac Kalimi argues that the span of each generation should be higher and proposes twenty-three or twenty-four years for each, bringing the concluding date for the genealogy to 382-376 BCE. Kalimi, *An*

darics (1 Chr 29:7), a coin that originated with Darius I (522-486 BC); and five Persian loanwords.¹⁰ Furthermore, the description of cultic institutions in Chronicles reflects a stabilization characteristic of the Second Temple period: singers and gatekeepers are distinct classes integrated into the levitical order and cult personnel are organized into twenty-four divisions (1 Chr 23; 25; 26).¹¹ Those who date the book early generally hold that these elements that post-date the sixth century are subsequent additions.¹² However, several scholars have offered persuasive arguments that these late elements are integral to the message of the book and must therefore be components of the original composition.¹³ Moreover, analysis of the language of the book has led to its classification as “Late Biblical Hebrew” with features shared by other post-exilic literature such as Ezra-Nehemiah, Esther, Daniel, the Samaritan Pentateuch, and the DSS.¹⁴ Ruling out a significantly later date for the composition of

Ancient Israelite Historian: Studies in the Chronicler, His Time, Place and Writing, SSN 46 (Assen, The Netherlands: Royal Van Gorcum, 2005), 56-59.

¹⁰ These include: גֶּזֶר, “sheath” (twice in 1 Chr 21:27); פֶּרֶבֶר, “colonnade” (1 Chr 26:18; cf. 2 Kgs 23:11); גִּזְזִי, “treasury” (1 Chr 28:11); כֶּרְמִיל, “crimson” (2 Chr 2:6 [7 EV], 13 [14 EV]; 3:14); זָנִים, “kinds” (2 Chr 16:14). Robert Rezetko, *Source and Revision in the Narratives of David's Transfer of the Ark: Text, Language, and Story in 2 Samuel 6 and 1 Chronicles 13, 15-16*, JSOTSup 470 (London, New York: T & T Clark, 2007), 73, n. 132.

¹¹ Japhet, *I & II Chronicles*, 26-27.

¹² See especially Cross, “Reconstruction,” 14; Newsome, “Toward a New Understanding,” 215-16; McKenzie, *Chronicler's Use*, 25-26; Steven S. Tuell, *First and Second Chronicles*, Int (Louisville: Westminster/John Knox Press, 2001), 10.

¹³ See Myers, *I Chronicles*; Marshall D. Johnson, *The Purpose of the Biblical Genealogies*, 2nd ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1969); Williamson, *1 and 2 Chronicles*; Dillard, *2 Chronicles*; Magnar Kartveit, *Motive und Schichten der Landtheologie in I Chronik 1-9*, ConBOT 28 (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1989); Rodney Duke, *The Persuasive Appeal of the Chronicler: A Rhetorical Analysis* (Sheffield: Almond Press, 1990); John W. Wright, “The Legacy of David in Chronicles: The Narrative Function of 1 Chronicles 23-27,” *JBL* 110, no. 2 (1991); Japhet, *I & II Chronicles*; Kleinig, *Lord's Song*; William Riley, *King and Cultus in Chronicles: Worship and the Reinterpretation of History*, JSOTSup 160 (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1993); Martin J. Selman, *1 Chronicles*, TOTC (Leicester, England; Downers Grove, Illinois: Inter-Varsity Press, 1994); Kenneth Pomykala, *The Davidic Dynasty Tradition in Early Judaism: Its History and Significance for Messianism*, SBL: Early Judaism and Its Literature (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1995); William M. Schniedewind, *The Word of God in Transition: From Prophet to Exegete in the Second Temple Period*, JSOTSup 156 (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1993); Brian E. Kelly, *Retribution and Eschatology in Chronicles*, JSOTSup 211 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1996); Knoppers, *1 Chronicles 10-29*; Sara Japhet, “Conquest and Settlement in Chronicles,” in *From the Rivers of Babylon to the Highlands of Judah* (Winona Lake, Indiana: Eisenbrauns, 2006), 205-18; Klein, *1 Chronicles*.

¹⁴ Sara Japhet, “The Supposed Common Authorship of Chronicles and Ezra-Nehemiah Investigated Anew,” *VT* 18 (1968): 330-71; Japhet, *I & II Chronicles*, 25-26. Robert Polzin, *Late*

the book is the fact that Chronicles is cited or alluded to in literature from the second century BCE, including the work of Eupolemus (ca. 158 BCE), Sirach (ca. 180 BCE), and Daniel (ca. 165 BCE).¹⁵ Significantly, several of these sources seem to know Chronicles in Greek translation. The time demanded for the composition, textual stabilization, circulation, and translation of Chronicles pushes the terminus provided by these citations into the third century BCE.¹⁶ In addition, the absence of Greek-Hellenistic influence in the language and worldview of the book suggest that it was composed prior to 333 BCE.

Literary Dependence of Chronicles on Samuel-Kings

The literary relationship between Chronicles and Samuel-Kings has been the primary critical issue in modern Chronicles research.¹⁷ At the dawn of the nineteenth century, two hypotheses were proposed to account for the similarities and differences between Samuel-Kings and Chronicles: either Chronicles is directly reliant on Samuel-Kings or the two works are mutually dependent on a shared source.¹⁸ These

Biblical Hebrew: Toward a Historical Typology of Biblical Hebrew Prose, HSM 12 (Missoula: Scholars Press, 1976); Isaac Kalimi, *The Reshaping of Ancient Israelite History in Chronicles* (Winona Lake, Indiana: Eisenbrauns, 2005); Avi Hurvitz, "The Recent Debate on Late Biblical Hebrew: Solid Data, Experts' Opinions, and Inconclusive Arguments," *HS* 47 (2006): 191-210. Some scholars challenge this consensus, arguing that Early Biblical Hebrew and Late Biblical Hebrew represent geographical rather than chronological divisions in the language. Robert Rezetko, "Dating Biblical Hebrew: Evidence from Samuel-Kings and Chronicles," in *Biblical Hebrew: Studies in Chronology and Typology*, ed. Ian Young, JSOTSup 369 (London: T & T Clark, 2003), 215-50; Ian Young, Robert Rezetko, and Martin Ehrensverd, *Linguistic Dating of Biblical Texts*, vol. 2 (London/Oakville, CT: Equinox, 2008); Raymond F. Person, Jr., *The Deuteronomistic History and the Book of Chronicles: Scribal Works in an Oral World*, SBL: Ancient Israel and Its Literature (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2010), 23-40. Nevertheless, these scholars still contend on other grounds that Chronicles emerged during the Persian period.

¹⁵ McKenzie, *1-2 Chronicles*, 29, 31.

¹⁶ Ehud Ben Zvi, "The Authority of 1-2 Chronicles in the Late Second Temple Period," *JSP* 3 (1988): 72-73; Isaac Kalimi, "History of Interpretation: The Book of Chronicles in Jewish Tradition from Daniel to Spinoza," *RB* 105 (1998): 5-41 (14-17).

¹⁷ See the historical overviews provided by Sara Japhet, "The Historical Reliability of Chronicles: The History of the Problem and Its Place in Biblical Research," in *From the Rivers of Babylon*, 117-36; Peltonen, "Function, Explanation and Literary Phenomena."

¹⁸ A central issue in modern biblical criticism has been the historical reliability and theological authority of the biblical witness, a dogma which is threatened by the differing testimonies in Samuel-Kings and Chronicles. Addressing this concern, J. G. Eichhorn proposed in 1803 that both Samuel-

two paradigms continue to provide the primary means of construing the textual affiliation between Samuel-Kings and Chronicles. A synopsis of both views will demonstrate that it is more compelling to suppose that Chronicles was composed using Samuel-Kings rather than a shared source. Nevertheless, that theory still does not provide an unambiguous window into the precise form of the version of Samuel-Kings used by the Chronicler.

The thesis that Samuel-Kings and Chronicles relied on a shared source has been a minority view for much of the critical era,¹⁹ though in recent decades, it has been more persuasively defended.²⁰ Most influential in this regard is the proposal by A. Graeme Auld who argues that both Samuel-Kings and Chronicles are expansions and revisions of a shorter composition which they both used as a source during the Persian era. Auld suggests that Chronicles, with its idealized portrayal of the Davidic kings, preserves an account more like the original historical source than the book of Kings, which evinces the ideological imprint of Deuteronomistic redaction critical of

Kings and Chronicles used a historically reliable shared source, *Einleitung ins Alte Testament* (Leipzig: Weidmann, 1780-83), 2:630-56. This proposal was countered in 1806 by Wilhelm de Wette who argued that, although an unknown source behind Samuel-Kings and Chronicles is possible in principle, there is no tangible proof of it and therefore the more incontrovertible conclusion for the modern historian to draw is that the Chronicler used and altered Samuel-Kings as its source, *Kritischer Versuch über die Glaubwürdigkeit der Bücher der Chronik mit Hinsicht auf die Geschichte der Mosaischen Bücher und Gesetzgebung* (Halle: Schimmelpfennig & Compagnie, 1806), 10-132.

¹⁹ The small number of nineteenth century scholars who followed Eichhorn in arguing that Chronicles is not dependent on Samuel-Kings but on another source include Carl Friedrich Keil, Leonhard Bertholdt, Heinrich Andreas Christoph Hävernich, Otto Zöckler, Ernst Bertheau, E. Rupprecht, and H. Milman. See Matt Patrick Graham, *The Utilization of 1 and 2 Chronicles in the Reconstruction of Israelite History in the Nineteenth Century*, SBLDS 116 (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1990), 43-55, 59, 87-91, and Kai Peltonen, *History Debated: The Historical Reliability of Chronicles in Pre-Critical and Critical Research*, vol. 1, PFES 64 (Helsinki: The Finnish Exegetical Society, 1996), 113-28, 176-84.

²⁰ Modern attempts to reassert a shared-source theory have been presented by H. Macy, "The Sources of the Books of Chronicles: A Reassessment," (PhD dissertation, Harvard University, 1975); A. Graeme Auld, *Kings Without Privilege: David and Moses in the Story of the Bible's Kings* (Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1994); idem, "What Was the Main Source of the Books of Chronicles?," in *The Chronicler as Author: Studies in Text and Texture*, ed. M. Patrick Graham and Steven L. McKenzie, JSOTSup 263 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1999), 91-99; Craig Y. S. Ho, "Conjectures and Refutations: Is 1 Samuel 31:1-3 Really the Source of 1 Chronicles 10:1-12?," VT 45 (1995); idem, "The Stories of the Family Troubles of Judah and David: A Study of Their Literary Links," VT 49 (1999); Rezetko, *Source and Revision: Person, Deuteronomic History*.

the monarchy.²¹ Auld's thesis productively challenges a prevalent stereotype which has undermined the reception of Chronicles: namely, the assumption that it is a biased adaptation of the earlier and more historically accurate Samuel-Kings account.²²

Nevertheless, Auld's proposal is controversial from the classical conception of the DtrH in that it denies Deuteronomistic influence to the original stratum of the DtrH material.²³ Furthermore, by assigning the activity of the Deuteronomists to the exilic era, after the composition of the Shared Text which serves as the source for Kings and Chronicles, Auld reverses the standard understanding of the direction of influence from Deuteronomy to the books of Kings.²⁴ Thus, Auld denies the very strong linguistic similarities which scholars have found between the book of Deuteronomy and 2 Sam 7 and 1 Kgs 8.²⁵ Though scholars agree that Deuteronomistic language is not in itself a sufficient indicator of Deuteronomistic authorship of Samuel-Kings, when combined with the predominance of Deuteronomistic theology and the central place of these passages in the overall narrative of Samuel-Kings, the theory of Deuteronomistic influence is difficult to refute.²⁶ With regard to Chronicles, the Deuteronomistic portions of these passages in

²¹ Auld, *Kings Without Privilege*, 153, 71-4.

²² Auld is particularly intent on challenging this assumption. He comments: "By privileging the books of Samuel and Kings as the 'text' to which Chronicles is mere 'commentary', we may have been insufficiently sensitive to the degree to which Samuel-Kings are also commentary on an earlier text." Ibid., 9.

²³ Ibid., 151-53.

²⁴ For example, Auld suggests that Nathan's oracle and Solomon's prayer, typically assigned to a Deuteronomistic hand, are, "influenced as a whole by the poetic tradition which has also given us the royal psalms. We would now also want to claim that elements in them influenced portions of Deuteronomy, rather than the other way round." Ibid., 173-74.

²⁵ See Frank Moore Cross, *Canaanite Myth and Hebrew Epic: Essays in the History of the Religion of Israel* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1973), 252-54, and Moshe Weinfeld, *Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomistic School* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1972), 320-65.

²⁶ Steven. L. McKenzie, "The Chronicler as Redactor," in *The Chronicler As Author: Studies in Text and Texture*, ed. M. Patrick Graham and Steven L. McKenzie, JSOTSup 263 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2000), 70-90 (85-87); Knoppers, *I Chronicles 1-9*, 67.

Kings are repeated almost verbatim in Chronicles, mitigating against Auld's suggestion that the Chronicler's source was a pre-Deuteronomistic account.²⁷

Rather than attributing the parallels between Samuel-Kings and Chronicles to a shared source, several features of the composition of Chronicles suggest direct literary dependence on Samuel-Kings. First, numerous passages in Chronicles presuppose not only familiarity with the historical traditions, but also with a particular *portrayal* which corresponds to that of Samuel-Kings. The Chronicler's account of Saul provides a salient illustration.²⁸ It is asserted in 1 Chr 10:13 that Saul died because "he did not keep the command of the Lord" and because "he consulted a medium," elements which are elaborated in 1 Sam 13:13,²⁹ 15:26-28, and 28:16-19. Saul Zalewski argues that the Chronicler highlights these sins in particular because of the role they play in 1 Samuel as the grounds for the transfer of kingship from Saul to David.³⁰ On these three occasions in 1 Samuel, the prophet foresees that the kingdom has been taken from Saul as a result of his sin. The Chronicler's non-synoptic addition at the anointing of David that his accession was "according to the word of the LORD by Samuel" (1 Chr 11:3)³¹ reinforces the intertextual connection with the prophecies in 1 Samuel and provides an explanation for the Chronicler's puzzling choice to begin his history of Judah with the death of Saul. The Saul narrative of 1 Chr 10 provides the prophetic endorsement for the Davidic monarchy when read in light of 1 Samuel.

²⁷ Isaac Kalimi, *The Reshaping of Ancient Israelite History in Chronicles* (Winona Lake, Indiana: Eisenbrauns, 2005), 4.

²⁸ See the thorough discussions by Saul Zalewski, "The Purpose of the Story of the Death of Saul in 1 Chronicles X," *VT* 39, no. 4 (1989): 49-67; McKenzie, "Chronicler as Redactor," 81; Kalimi, *Reshaping of Ancient Israelite History*, 209-10.

²⁹ Note the parallel statement that Saul "did not keep the command of the Lord" in 1 Chr 10:13 and 1 Sam 13:13.

³⁰ Zalewski, "Death of Saul."

³¹ In several places, an event is described in Chronicles as fulfilling a prior word spoken through a prophet, but the oracle itself is in Samuel-Kings (1 Chr 11:3 // 1 Sam 15:28; 16:1-13; 2 Chr 10:15 // 1 Kgs 12:15; cf. also 2 Chr 36:21 // Jer 25:1-11). McKenzie reasons, "The writer of [Chronicles] would certainly not report the fulfilment of an unknown prophecy," "Chronicler as Redactor," 81.

Numerous examples can be added to the above illustration. Passing references to David being oppressed by Saul and taking his throne by military means in 1 Chr 12:1, 19, 23 rely on the background narratives of 1 Sam 27:1-6; 28:1-2; and 29:1-11.³² Similarly, David's marriage to Saul's daughter, Michal, and the ideologically significant interchanges between them in 2 Samuel, provide the necessary background for the brief allusion to her in 1 Chr 15:29.³³ Ahab is alluded to several times in 2 Chr 18; 22:3-5, 7-8 (so also Omri in 2 Chr 22:2), but he is never introduced; instead, the reader's familiarity with his portrayal in Kings and the catastrophe which the Deuteronomistic historian attaches to his legacy are assumed.³⁴ The same is true with regard to Jeroboam and his defilement of the cult (2 Chr 11:13-14//1 Kgs 12:26-33; 13:33);³⁵ Jehu's role in destroying the house of Ahab (2 Chr 22:7-8) as fulfilment of Elijah's oracle (1 Kgs 21:17-29);³⁶ and the theological significance of Hezekiah's prayer and sign (2 Chr 32:24//2 Kgs 20:1-11) and subsequent visit from Babylonian envoys (2 Chr 32:31//2 Kgs 20:12-19).³⁷ In each of these cases, an abbreviated version in Chronicles functions as a metonym for the more expanded account in Samuel-Kings and it is only with that material as background that the full significance of the Chronicler's re-telling is comprehensible.

³² Kalimi, *Reshaping of Ancient Israelite History*, 210.

³³ See especially 2 Sam 6:20-23. McKenzie, "Chronicler as Redactor," 82. Robert Rezetko proposes that the narrative of David's transfer of the ark in 2 Sam 6 was edited during the Second Temple period and that several details in the MT version are actually later than the parallel text of MT 1 Chr 13, 15-16. With respect to the vagueness of 1 Chr 15:29, he maintains that either this material was inexplicably omitted by the Chronicler or that 2 Sam was subsequently expanded to clarify an ambiguous report. He concludes the latter. *Source and Revision*, 278-82. Compare also Raymond Person's rejection of a unilinear direction of literary influence from Samuel to Chronicles, stating with regard to this passage, "the audience's knowledge of the broader tradition would have adequately prepared the readers for Michal's motivation," *Deuteronomistic History*, 103, see also 134-38. Few scholars have been persuaded by these suggestions which, though plausible, are more complicated and less satisfactory than the simple explanation that the Chronicler is presupposing the fuller account in 2 Sam 6.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 83-84.

³⁵ Kalimi, *Reshaping of Ancient Israelite History*, 211-12.

³⁶ McKenzie, "Chronicler as Redactor," 84-85.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, 85; Kalimi, *Reshaping of Ancient Israelite History*, 205-8.

An additional feature of the composition of Chronicles which points towards its literary dependence on some form of Samuel-Kings is the fact that in both compilations, the Judean kings are treated in the same order and the details of their reigns are presented in almost parallel sequence.³⁸ Moreover, the Chronicler replicates the general features of the Deuteronomistic regnal reports to introduce and conclude the account of each Judean king.³⁹ Finally, the Chronicler attributes authorship of his sources only to prophetic characters specifically mentioned in Samuel-Kings.⁴⁰

But even allowing that Samuel-Kings was the primary source used by the Chronicler, caution must be exercised in comparison of synoptic passages between MT Samuel-Kings and MT Chronicles because of ambiguity surrounding the precise textual form of the Chronicler's Samuel-Kings source. Manuscript discoveries at Qumran have expanded the data available for the textual-critical comparison of Chronicles and Samuel-Kings. The Chronicler's frequent alignment with LXX Samuel and 4QSam^a against MT Samuel suggests that a non-extant Old Palestinian text of Samuel was used by the Chronicler rather than a proto-Masoretic type.⁴¹ Similar instances of alignment between LXX Kings and Chronicles are observable in the Old Greek portions of Kings that are available (1 Kgs 2:12-21:43)⁴² which may indicate comparable conclusions regarding the nature of the version of Kings that

³⁸ On this issue, see Zipora Talshir, "The Three Deaths of Josiah and the Strata of Biblical Historiography," *VT* 46 (1996): 213-36 (226-28); idem, "Several Canon-Related Concepts Originating in Chronicles," *ZAW* 113 (2001): 386-403 (394-95).

³⁹ Talshir, "Three Deaths of Josiah," 222-26.

⁴⁰ Talshir, "Several Canon-Related Concepts," 395. For additional analysis pointing in the direction of the Chronicler's use of some Hebrew version of Samuel-Kings, see Marc Zvi Brettler, "From the Deuteronomist(s) to the Chronicler: Continuities and Innovations," in *Proceedings of the Eleventh World Congress of Jewish Studies*, ed. David Assaf (Jerusalem: World Union of Jewish Studies, 1994), 83-90, and Knoppers, *1 Chronicles 1-9*, 66-68.

⁴¹ Werner E. Lemke, "The Synoptic Problem in the Chronicler's History," *HTR* 58, no. 4 (1965): 349-63; Eugene Ulrich, *The Qumran Text of Samuel and Josephus*, HSM 19 (Missoula, MT: Scholars Press, 1978).

⁴² The Old Greek version of the LXX has been lost from 1 Kings 22 onward and a *kaige* recension from the first century CE toward the proto-MT is all that is retained. Henry St. John Thackeray, "The Greek Translators of the Four Books of Kings," *JTS* 8 (1907).

underlies Chronicles.⁴³ As a result, some divergences between Samuel-Kings and Chronicles may be due to the Chronicler's textual *Vorlage* and not the result of a conscious alteration of the Samuel-Kings text. On the other hand, alignment between Chronicles, LXX, and 4QSam^a away from MT Samuel-Kings may indeed be the result of interpretive activity by *both* the Chronicler and the Greek translators.⁴⁴

In any case, the possibility that a non-extant version of Samuel-Kings served as the Chronicler's actual source means that the Chronicler's own theological contribution cannot be ascertained simply by comparing the Masoretic forms of Samuel-Kings and Chronicles. Werner Lemke's warning is appropriate: "We can no longer simply lay the respective Masoretic texts of Chronicles and Samuel-Kings side by side and explain every difference between them as arising from the tendentious interest of the Chronicler."⁴⁵ Similarly, Gary Knoppers points out that differences between Samuel-Kings and Chronicles may also be due to scribal error or textual corruption as well as to a different textual tradition functioning as the Chronicler's *Vorlage*.⁴⁶ Raymond Person further suggests that linguistic differences between Samuel-Kings and Chronicles may be significant in our modern, highly literate culture in a way that would not have been relevant in the oral scribal culture of the ancient Near East: "What we might consider a 'change' in the meaning of a text as a result of the addition, omission, or substitution of a couple of words here and there

⁴³ Lemke, "Synoptic Problem." But cf. Steven McKenzie's contention that the Chronicler used a proto-MT version of Kings based on what he sees as textual affiliations between MT Kings and MT Chronicles. McKenzie, *Chronicler's Use*, 119-58.

⁴⁴ Isaac Leo Seeligmann points out that the LXX as a translation is essentially an interpretation of its Hebrew *Vorlage*, a point which moderates the textual-critical inferences which can be drawn from it, "Problems and Perspectives in Modern Septuagint Research," *Textus* 15 (1990): 181-201. Stephen Pisano extends this proposition to the study of Qumran manuscripts, *Additions or Omissions in the Books of Samuel: The Significant Pluses and Minuses in the Masoretic, LXX and Qumran Texts* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1984).

⁴⁵ Lemke, "Synoptic Problem," 362-63.

⁴⁶ Knoppers, *1 Chronicles 1-9*, 71.

may nevertheless have been understood by the ancient scribes not as a change at all but rather as a faithful copy of the original.”⁴⁷

Further uncertainty about the form of the Samuel-Kings material used by the Chronicler is raised by redaction-critical reconstructions of the composition of Samuel-Kings which indicate that at least two literary strata are present in the book. Several passages presuppose the fall of Jerusalem and the exile (e.g., 1 Kgs 5:4; 9:1-9; 11:9-13; 2 Kgs 17:19-20; 20:17-18; 21:11-15; 22:15-20; 23:26-27; 24:2-4; 24:18-25:30) while others seem totally unaware of the exile, such as the promises to David of an eternal dynasty (2 Sam 7:10-16; 1 Kgs 11:32; 2 Kgs 19:34; 20:6) and the formula “until this day” (2 Sam 4:3; 2 Kgs 17:23). Based on these features, the work is assumed by many to be the result of at least two distinct redactions, one before and one during the exile.⁴⁸ Steven McKenzie suggests that it was a pre-exilic and incomplete edition of the DtrH which served as the Chronicler’s source.⁴⁹ Along similar lines, an increasing number of scholars argue that the redaction history of the DtrH extended over a long period of time, continuing into the Persian period.⁵⁰ If this

⁴⁷ Person, *Deuteronomistic History*, 50.

⁴⁸ The identification of two distinct strata in the book of Kings was proposed over a century ago by Abraham Kuenen, *Historisch-kritische Einleitung in die Bücher des alten Testaments hinsichtlich ihrer Entstehung und Sammlung. Zweiter Teil* (Leipzig: 1892). This helped lay the foundation for the theory of a dual redaction of the entire DtrH, propounded by Rudolf Smend and Frank Moore Cross whose works have generated two “schools” of thought on the issue. See Rudolf Smend, “Das Gesetz und die Völker: ein Beitrag zur deuteronomistischen Redaktionsgeschichte,” in *Probleme biblischer Theologie*, ed. Hans Walter Wolff (Munich: Chr. Kaiser Verlag, 1971) and Cross, *Canaanite Myth and Hebrew Epic*. For an overview of these positions, see Richard D. Nelson, *The Double Redaction of the Deuteronomistic History* JSOTSup 18 (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1981).

⁴⁹ More precisely, McKenzie argues that there are three stages in the redaction of Chronicles and that the pre-exilic version of DtrH lies behind the first edition (Chr1) from the late 6th century BCE. Subsequent redactions occurred ca. 450 (Chr2) and ca. 400 (Chr3), *Chronicler’s Use*. In a later essay he admits that he no longer holds to this theory of the book’s composition. McKenzie, “Chronicler as Redactor,” 72, n. 6.

⁵⁰ Timo Veijola, *Die ewige Dynastie: David und die Entstehung seiner Dynastie nach der deuteronomistischen Darstellung*, STT 193 (Helsinki: Suomalainen Tiedakatemia, 1975); Ernst Würthwein, “Die josianische Reform und das Deuteronomium,” *ZTK* 73 (1976); Hermann Spieckermann, *Juda unter Assur in der Sargonidenzeit*, FRLANT 129 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1982); Ernst Axel Knauf, “Does ‘Deuteronomistic Historiography’ (DH) Exist?,” in *Israel Constructs Its History: Deuteronomistic Historiography in Recent Research* ed. Albert de Pury, Thomas Römer, and Jean-Daniel Macchi, JSOTSup 306 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2000),

is the case, it is possible that the form of Samuel-Kings used by the Chronicler did not contain its late redactional additions.

Therefore, although it is reasonable to conclude that Chronicles was composed through direct reliance on Samuel-Kings, the form of that source material may have been a different, possibly expanded version of what is now found in the Masoretic versions of Samuel-Kings, or a non-extant early edition of those books.⁵¹ This formulation of the literary relationship between Chronicles and Samuel-Kings has implications for the methodological approach to be pursued in the comparison of the narrative portions under consideration. Before discussing these in more detail, I wish to explore the possibility of the Chronicler's dependence on the Latter Prophets, specifically Isaiah and Jeremiah.

Literary Dependence of Chronicles on the Latter Prophets

Because of the energy devoted to the relationship between Samuel-Kings and Chronicles in critical scholarship, significantly less attention has been paid to the Chronicler's use of literature from the Latter Prophets. In recent decades, however, notice has started to turn in that direction, though in an indirect manner. The Chronicler's portrayal of prophets and prophecy has become a popular discussion topic in biblical studies.⁵² This is not surprising considering that prophetic figures and

388-98; Thomas C. Römer, *The So-Called Deuteronomistic History: A Sociological, Historical and Literary Introduction* (London; New York T & T Clark, 2005), 165-83; Person, *Deuteronomistic History*.

⁵¹ This way of describing the literary relationship between Samuel-Kings and Chronicles is, in fact, not dissimilar from that proposed by Raymond Person who nevertheless claims that the two works derived from a shared source. In his words, "this common source, in my opinion, is an early redaction of the Deuteronomistic History that was undertaken in the Babylonian exile." He goes on to explain that the differences between what he prefers to refer to as the Deuteronomistic History and the book of Chronicles are the result of two scribal schools during the post-exilic era, one in Jerusalem and one in Babylon, each adding material to this common source in line with their increasingly diverse theological interests, *Deuteronomistic History*, 17-19.

⁵² Gerhard von Rad, "Die levitische Predigt in den Büchern der Chronik," in *Festschrift Otto Procksch* (Leipzig, 1934), 113-24; Welch, *Work of the Chronicler*, 42-54; Otto Plöger, "Reden und Gebete im deuteronomistischen und chronistischen Geschichtswerk," in *Aus der Spätzeit des Alten*

prophetic speech factor significantly in the book and that Chronicles presents an entirely unique portrayal of the prophet's function. For example, King David speaks in terms reminiscent of the classical prophets;⁵³ military leaders, priests, and Levites

Testaments (Göttingen: 1957), 50-66; Claus Westermann, *Basic Forms of Prophetic Speech*, trans. Hugh Clayton White (London: Lutterworth Press, 1967), 163-68; Thomas Willi, *Die Chronik als Auslegung*, FRLANT 106 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1972), 190-244; James D. Newsome, "The Chronicler's View of Prophecy" (PhD dissertation, Vanderbilt University, 1973); Richard O. Rigsby, *The Historiography of Speeches and Prayers in the Books of Chronicles* (ThD dissertation, Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, 1973); Macy, *Sources of the Books of Chronicles*; Newsome, "Toward a New Understanding," 201-17; David L. Petersen, *Late Israelite Prophecy: Studies in Deutero-Prophetic Literature and in Chronicles* (Missoula: Scholars Press, 1977), 55-87; Isac Leo Seeligmann, "Die Auffassung von der Prophetie in der deuteronomistischen und chronistischen Geschichtsschreibung," VTSup 29 (1978): 254-84; Joel P. Weinberg, "Die 'ausser kanonischen Prophetzeiungen'," *Acta Antiqua* 26 (1978): 387-404; Armin Schmitt, "Das prophetische Sondergut in II Chr. xx 14-17," in *Künder des Wortes: Festschrift für Josef Schreiner*, ed. Lothar Ruppert, Peter Weimar, and Erich Zenger (Würzburg: Echter Verlag, 1982), 273-83; Yairah Amit, "The Role of Prophecy and Prophets in the Theology of the Book of Chronicles," *Beth Mikra* 93 (1983): 113-33; Rosemarie Mischeel, *Die Seher- und Prophetenüberlieferungen in der Chronik*, BET 18 (Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 1983); Dietmar Mathias, "'Levitisches Predigt' und Deuteronomismus," ZAW 96 (1984): 23-49; Michael Fishbane, *Biblical Interpretation in Ancient Israel* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1985), 380-92; Simon J. DeVries, "The Forms of Prophetic Address in Chronicles," HAR 10 (1986): 15-35; Eusebio Hernando, "El Profetismo en los libros de las Crónicas," *Scriptorium Victoricense* 34 (1987): 45-66; Throntveit, *When Kings Speak*; Christopher Begg, "The Classical Prophets in the Chronistic History," BZ 32 (1988): 100-07; Sara Japhet, *The Ideology of the Book of Chronicles and Its Place in Biblical Thought*, trans. Anna Barber (Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 1989), 176-91; Duke, *Persuasive Appeal*; Rex A. Mason, *Preaching the Tradition: Homily and Hermeneutics after the Exile* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990); Reinhold Then, "Gibt es denn keinen mehr unter den Propheten?" *Zum Fortgang der alttestamentlichen Prophetie in frühjüdischer Zeit*, BEATAJ 22 (Frankfurt am Main: Lang, 1990); Jürgen Kegler, "Prophetengestalten im Deuteronomistischen Geschichtswerk und in den Chronikbüchern," ZAW 105 (1993): 481-97; William M. Schniedewind, "History or Homily: Toward an Understanding of the Chronicler's Purpose," in *Proceedings of the Eleventh World Congress of Jewish Studies* (Jerusalem: World Union of Jewish Studies, 1993), 91-97; Harry V. Van Rooy, "Prophet and Society in the Persian Period according to Chronicles," in *Second Temple Studies 2: Temple Community in the Persian Period*, ed. Tamara C. Eskenazi and Kent H. Richards, JSOTS 175 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1994), 163-79; Schniedewind, *Word of God in Transition*; idem, "Prophets and Prophecy in the Books of Chronicles," in *The Chronicler as Historian*, ed. Steven L. McKenzie, M. Patrick Graham, and Kenneth G. Hoglund (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1997), 204-24; Mark A. Throntveit, "The Chronicler's Speeches and Historical Reconstruction," in *Chronicler as Historian*, ed. McKenzie, et al., 225-45; Raymond Kuntzmann, "La fonction prophétique en 1-2 Chroniques: Du ministère de la Parole au service de l'institution communautaire," in *Ich bewirke das Heil und erschaffe das Unheil (Jesaja 45,7): Studien zur Botschaft der Propheten*, ed. Friedrich Dietrich and Bernd Willmes, FzB 88 (Würzburg: Echter Verlag, 1998), 245-58; Rodney K. Duke, "The Strategic Use of Enthymeme and Example in Argumentation of the Books of Chronicles," in *Rhetorical Argumentation in Biblical Texts*, ed. Thomas H. Olbricht, Anders Eriksson, and Walter Übelacker (Harrisburg, Pennsylvania: Trinity Press International, 2002), 127-40; Panc Beentjes, "Historical Persons or Literary Characters: Prophets in the Book of Chronicles," in *Tradition and Transformation in the Book of Chronicles*, SSN 52 (Leiden, Boston: Brill 2008), 129-39; idem, "Constructs of Prophets and Prophecy in the Book of Chronicles," Paper delivered at the Annual SBL Conference (Boston, 2008); idem, "Isaiah in the Book of Chronicles," in *Isaiah in Context: Studies in Honour of Arie van der Kooij on the Occasion of His Sixty-fifth Birthday*, ed. Michael N. van der Meer, VTSup 52 (Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2010), 91-98.

⁵³ The Chronicler claims of David that "the word of the LORD came to him, וַיְהִי עָלָי דְּבַר-יְהוָה (1 Chr 22:8) and that he spoke a blessing to the people of Judah "in the name of the LORD, בְּשֵׁם יְהוָה" (1 Chr 16:2). Elsewhere in Chronicles these phrases are only attributed to prophetic figures, often echoing

are moved by the spirit to speak messages from God;⁵⁴ even non-Israelites function as God's mouthpiece, delivering blessings, warnings, and exhortations.⁵⁵ There is an expansion of the prophetic role to include musical worship⁵⁶ and writing of national histories.⁵⁷ At the same time, the portrayal of prophets in Chronicles minimizes biographical information and focuses instead on the written and spoken word of prophetic characters.⁵⁸

As a result of the unique role prophecy plays in Chronicles, it provides a window into perceptions of prophets and prophecy in the Persian era. By means of classifying and systematizing prophetic phenomena in the book, scholars have attempted to shed light on this aspect of ancient Israelite history. Several form-critical investigations compare the structure and content of prophecy in Chronicles to similar

the classical usage portrayed in Samuel-Kings. "The word of God/the LORD came" is used in 1 Chr 17:3//2 Sam 7:4 [5 EV] (Nathan); 2 Chr 11:2//1 Kgs 12:22; 2 Chr 12:7 (Shemaiah); for other occurrences in the Hebrew Bible see Schniedewind, *Word of God in Transition*, 60-61, n. 77. "In the name of the LORD" occurs in 1 Chr 21:19 (Gad); 2 Chr 18:15//1 Kgs 22:16 (Micaiah); 2 Chr 33:18 (seers); cf. Deut 18:22; Jer 26:16, 20; 44:16; Zech 13:3.

⁵⁴ The military leader, Amasai, and the priest, Zechariah, speak after "the spirit of God clothed" them, *וְרוּחַ [אֱלֹהִים] לְבָשָׁה* (1 Chr 12:19; 2 Chr 24:20; cf. Jdgs 6:34). Azariah, the son of a high priest, and Jahaziel, a Levite, speak after "the spirit of God/the LORD came upon" them, *הִיָּתָה עָלֵיו רוּחַ* (2 Chr 15:1; 2 Chr 20:14; cf. Num 24:2; Jdgs 3:10; 11:29; 1 Sam 19:20, 23). Jahaziel and Zechariah also employ the prophetic introductory formula, "thus says God/the LORD, *כֹּה אָמַר*, *הָאֱלֹהִים/יְהוָה*" (2 Chr 20:15; 24:20). This phrase occurs 291 times in the Hebrew Bible, most frequently in the Latter Prophets. Other occurrences in Chronicles are applied to prophetic figures and parallel Samuel-Kings in most cases: 1 Chr 17:4, 7//2 Sam 7:5, 8 (Nathan); 1 Chr 21:10, 11//2 Sam 24:12 (Gad); 2 Chr 11:4//1 Kgs 12:24 (Shemaiah); 2 Chr 12:5, non-synoptic (Shemaiah); 2 Chr 18:10//1 Kgs 22:11 (Zedekiah son of Chenaanah); 2 Chr 21:12, non-synoptic (Elijah); 2 Chr 34:23, 24, 26//2 Kgs 22:15, 16, 18 (Huldah).

⁵⁵ Hiram king of Tyre (2 Chr 2:11-12) and the queen of Sheba (2 Chr 9:7-8) bless Solomon; Neco king of Egypt is described as speaking "from the mouth of God, *מִפִּי אֱלֹהִים*" (2 Chr 35:22), and Cyrus king of Persia is "charged" by the Lord to issue a decree for the rebuilding of the temple, *וְהוּא פָקֵד*, "עָלַי" (2 Chr 36:23).

⁵⁶ Levitical singers are described as ones who "prophesy [*הִנְבָּא*] with lyres, with harps, and with cymbals...in thanksgiving and praise to the LORD" (1 Chr 25:1-3).

⁵⁷ See 1 Chr 29:29; 2 Chr 9:29; 12:15; 13:22; 20:34; 26:22; 32:32; 33:19. These references to prophetic records convey that each period in Judah's history was overseen and recorded by a prophetic figure. Amit, "Role of Prophecy," 115-18; Beentjes, "Historical Persons," 131.

⁵⁸ E.g. the omission of the narratives of Elijah and Elisha found in 1 Kgs 17-2 Kgs 9 and their replacement with a letter by Elijah in 2 Chr 21:12-15.

forms in classical⁵⁹ or post-exilic⁶⁰ literature. Others compare the synoptic and non-synoptic speeches within the book as a way of identifying the Chronicler's ideological message which he has inserted into the mouths of prophet-like figures.⁶¹ One approach to the analysis of the non-synoptic speeches distinguishes between the different types of figures (kings, priests, prophets, etc.) who deliver these prophet-like speeches.⁶² Still another analyzes how the speeches function within the narrative context as precautionary warnings⁶³ or retrospective interpretations of events.⁶⁴

As is evident from these scholarly contributions, the speeches in the book provide a central avenue for investigating the Chronicler's portrayal of prophets and prophecy. Nearly every king's reign includes a non-synoptic address delivered by a prophetic character⁶⁵ or introduced with an inspiration formula imitating portrayals of classical prophecy.⁶⁶ Situated at decisive turning points and climaxes throughout the narrative, these speeches provide structural and thematic insights into the Chronicler's

⁵⁹ Particularly the presentation of classical prophecy in the DtrH: Plöger, "Reden und Gebete"; Westermann, *Basic Forms*, 13-80; Roddy L. Braun, "The Significance of 1 Chronicles 22, 28, and 29 for the Structure and Theology of the Work of the Chronicler" (ThD dissertation, Concordia Seminary, 1971), 232-39; Seeligmann, "Auffassung von der Prophetie"; Petersen, *Late Israelite Prophecy*, 55-96; Mathias, "Levitisches Predigt"; Schmitt, "Prophetische Sondergut," 273-83; Van Rooy, "Prophet and Society," 163-79.

⁶⁰ Willem André Maria Beuken, *Haggai-Sacharja 1-8* (Assen: Van Gorcum & Comp., 1967), 88; Rex A. Mason, "The Prophets of the Restoration," in *Israel's Prophetic Tradition: Essays in Honour of Peter R. Ackroyd*, ed. Richard Coggins, Anthony Phillips, and Michael Knibb (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982), 137-54; idem, "Some Echoes of the Preaching in the Second Temple?: Tradition Elements in Zechariah 1-8," *ZAW* 96 (1984): 221-35; idem, "Some Chronistic Themes in the 'Speeches' in Ezra and Nehemiah," *ExpT* 101 (1989): 72-76; idem, *Preaching the Tradition*.

⁶¹ Micheel, *Seher- und Prophetenüberlieferungen*; DeVries, "Forms of Prophetic Address."

⁶² Newsome, "The Chronicler's View of Prophecy"; idem, "Toward a New Understanding"; Throntveit, *When Kings Speak*; Schniedewind, *Word of God in Transition*.

⁶³ George Fohrer, *Die Propheten des Alten Testaments*, vol. 7 (Gütersloh Gütersloher Verlagshaus Mohn, 1977), 36-37; Seeligmann, "Auffassung von der Prophetie," 283; Japhet, *Ideology of Chronicles*, 176-91.

⁶⁴ Welch, *Work of the Chronicler*, 42-54; Newsome, "The Chronicler's View of Prophecy," 235-38; Micheel, *Seher- und Prophetenüberlieferungen*, 67; DeVries, "Forms of Prophetic Address," 24-34; Throntveit, "Chronicler's Speeches," 235; Schniedewind, *Word of God in Transition*, 125-27.

⁶⁵ These prophetic characters are variously designated as נָבִיא ("prophet"), חֹזֶה ("seer"), רֹאֶה ("seer"), and אִישׁ הָאֱלֹהִים ("man of God"). For citations and thorough analyses of the prophetic titles in Chronicles and other biblical literature, see David L. Petersen, *The Roles of Israel's Prophets*, JSOTSup 17 (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1981); Schniedewind, *Word of God in Transition*, 32-54.

⁶⁶ Inspiration formulas include "כֹּה אָמַר הָאֱלֹהִים/יְהוָה" and "the word of the LORD came to," וַיְהִי דְבַר-יְהוָה אֵלַי. See Schniedewind, *Word of God in Transition*, 54-77.

work,⁶⁷ supplying theological rationale for why Judah's history unfolded as it did. The unprecedented style in which they are presented suggests that they were composed and inserted by the Chronicler, as a way of infusing the history with his own theological interpretation.⁶⁸ However, the relationship of prophetic literature to the Chronicler's speeches has for the most part focused on comparing prophetic portrayals and speech forms. Significantly less attention has been devoted to the verbal and thematic correspondences between the material and the extent to which the Latter Prophets functioned as a textual source for the composition of Chronicles.

An important turning point towards analyzing the textual relationship between Chronicles and the Latter Prophets resulted from Gerhard von Rad's 1934 essay entitled, "Die levitische Predigt in den Büchern der Chronik."⁶⁹ He identified correspondences in the speeches – which he labelled "sermons" – to other biblical literature, particularly books within the Latter Prophets.⁷⁰ In his assessment, the Chronicler composed the speeches by weaving together elements from written

⁶⁷ Plöger, "Reden und Gebete," 50-66; Louis Jonker, "Who Constitutes Society? Yehud's Self-understanding in the Late Persian Era as Reflected in the Books of Chronicles," *JBL* 127 (2008): 703-24.

⁶⁸ For quite some time, the scholarly discussion evoked by these speeches revolved around their historical authenticity or inauthenticity. Nineteenth-century scholars who perceived the speeches to be unhistorical compositions of the Chronicler include: Karl Heinrich Graf, *Die Geschichtlichen Bücher des Alten Testament* (Leipzig: 1866), 187, and Samuel Rolles Driver, "The Speeches in Chronicles," *The Expositor* 1 and 2 (1895): 241-56; 286-308. For a defence of the historical reliability of the Chronicler's speeches, compare Valpy French, "The Speeches in Chronicles: A Reply," *The Expositor* 2, no. 2 (1895): 140-52. Today there is a virtual consensus that the speeches are the Chronicler's own composition. For an overview of scholarship, see Throntveit, "Chronicler's Speeches," 225-45. Exceptions include Joel P. Weinberg's recent attempt to ground the source of the speeches in an authentic "extracanonical prophetic movement" which flourished in the premonarchical and early monarchical periods. Weinberg, "Ausser kanonischen Prophezeiungen." Similarly, Claus Westermann, in his form-critical analysis of the prophetic speeches in Chronicles, sees enough similarity between the speeches in Chronicles and those in Samuel-Kings to conclude that the Chronicler had access to genuine traditions associated with the prophets which he depicts. However, he couches this observation in the assertion that "in all these speeches the prophets express the thesis of the Chronicler's view of history so plainly, one might even say so obviously, that one must at least reckon with a transformation by the Chronicler." Westermann, *Basic Forms*, 166-67 (164).

⁶⁹ Translated as "The Levitical Sermon in I and II Chronicles," in *The Problem of the Hexateuch and Other Essays* (Edinburgh and London: Oliver & Boyd, 1966), 267-80.

⁷⁰ Von Rad assigned the speeches to a distinct form-critical genre called "Levitical Sermons," so named to reflect their homiletical nature and what he believed to be their Deuteronomic-levitical origin. His conclusions about the levitical origins of the Chronicler's work as well as his identification of the speeches as "sermons" have been disputed in spite of the staying power of his observations about the resonances between Chronicles and the prophetic literature.

prophetic traditions: "The use of quotations from ancient authoritative texts is a particular characteristic of these sermons. Telling phrases which seem to lend weight to the theme of the homily are quarried wherever they may be found in earlier literature, and incorporated into the sermon."⁷¹ While supporting the claim that the speeches were composed and inserted by the Chronicler, he also drew attention to the use of pre-existing written traditions. This observation regarding the nature of the Chronistic speeches turned the discussion toward the Chronicler's interpretation and reuse of prophetic texts.

The parallels which scholars have subsequently identified between the Chronistic speeches and prophetic literature include verbal, structural, and thematic correspondences.⁷² Echoes of material in the Latter Prophets have been pointed out between the speech of Amasai in 1 Chr 12:18 and Isa 26:3; 57:19; Jer 6:14; 8:11;⁷³ David's charge to Solomon to build the temple in 1 Chr 22:11-13 and Hag 2:4;⁷⁴ David's exhortation to Solomon before his death in 1 Chr 28:9-10 and Isa 55:6; Jer 29:13;⁷⁵ the non-synoptic addition to Solomon's speech in 2 Chr 6:41-42 and Isa 55:3;⁷⁶ Azariah's speech in 2 Chr 15:1-7 and Isa 3:5; 19:2; 22:5; 40:10; 62:11; Jer 29:13; 31:16; Hos 3:4-5; 4:6; 5:15; Amos 3:9; 8:11; Zeph 1:6; 3:16; Zech 8:9-10;⁷⁷ Hanani's speech in 2 Chr 16:7-9 and Isa 10:20;⁷⁸ Zech 4:10;⁷⁹ Jahaziel's speech in 2

⁷¹ Von Rad, "Levitical Sermon," 278.

⁷² For thorough presentations see, in addition to von Rad's essay, Willi, *Die Chronik als Auslegung*; Schmitt, "Prophetische Sondergut"; Williamson, *1 and 2 Chronicles*; Mason, "Some Echoes"; idem, *Preaching the Tradition*; Fishbane, *Biblical Interpretation*; Schniedewind, *Word of God in Transition*; Beentjes, "Historical Persons."

⁷³ Schniedewind, *Word of God in Transition*, 108-12; Mason, *Preaching the Tradition*, 13-16.

⁷⁴ Mason, *Preaching the Tradition*, 25.

⁷⁵ Ibid., 30; Williamson, *1 and 2 Chronicles*, 181.

⁷⁶ Hugh G. M. Williamson, "Eschatology in Chronicles," *TynBul* 28 (1977): 115-54 (143-46).

⁷⁷ Willi, *Die Chronik als Auslegung*, 223-26; Fishbane, *Biblical Interpretation*, 389-90; idem, *Garments of Torah: Essays in Biblical Hermeneutics* (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1989), 15; Mason, *Preaching the Tradition*, 48-51; Japhet, *I & II Chronicles*, 721; Schniedewind, *Word of God in Transition*, 114-15; Talshir, "Several Canon-Related Concepts," 386-403; Beentjes, "Historical Persons," 137-39.

⁷⁸ Mason, *Preaching the Tradition*, 53.

Chr 20:14-17 and Isa 7:4;⁸⁰ 41:10-13;⁸¹ the speech of Jehoshaphat in 2 Chr 20:20 and Isa 7:9;⁸² Jer 7:9;⁸³ and the speech of Oded in 2 Chr 28:9-11 and Hos 14:1; Amos 8:14.⁸⁴ Hugh Williamson observes, with regard to the significance of the Latter Prophets in the Chronicler's work, that:

The point here is not just that he often mentions them: that might be no more than a reflection of the circumstances of history. It is rather that their words are so built into the structure of the narrative that the work as a whole may be termed prophetic history. It seems that the Chronicler could not conceive of his people's history without the influence of prophecy upon it.⁸⁵

Indeed, an objective of this thesis is to show how, in addition to a textualized version of Samuel-Kings, the Chronicler was also acquainted with prophetic literature, specifically, but not limited to, the books of Isaiah and Jeremiah.

The presence of literary parallels is only one component of asserting literary dependence on the Latter Prophets. The dating of the material and the possibility that it was available for use by the Chronicler also requires inspection. As with Samuel-Kings, the books of the Latter Prophets evince redactional layers and textual diversity, mitigating a precise reconstruction of the prophetic texts used by the Chronicler. However, for the passages under consideration in the present investigation, namely Isaiah 36-39 and Jeremiah 52, there is good reason to conclude that they preceded the composition of Chronicles and therefore could have been available to the Chronicler as source material.

⁷⁹ Ibid., 54; Willi, *Die Chronik als Auslegung*, 223; Williamson, *1 and 2 Chronicles*, 15; 274-75; Fishbane, *Biblical Interpretation*, 451, n. 7; Japhet, *I & II Chronicles*, 735; Beentjes, "Historical Persons," 138.

⁸⁰ Fishbane, *Biblical Interpretation*, 387.

⁸¹ Williamson, *1 and 2 Chronicles*, 289; Schniedewind, *Word of God in Transition*, 117.

⁸² Fishbane, *Biblical Interpretation*, 387; Schniedewind, *Word of God in Transition*, 117.

⁸³ Willi, *Die Chronik als Auslegung*, 227-28.

⁸⁴ Ibid., 221.

⁸⁵ Hugh G. M. Williamson, *Israel in the Books of Chronicles* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977), 68.

The events narrated in Isaiah 36-39 are set between 705 and 701 BCE when the Assyrian army under Sennacherib was forced to abandon their attack on Jerusalem. Many scholars suppose that a redaction of the original oracles of the eighth century prophet Isaiah occurred during the reign of Josiah (640-609 BCE), at which time the power of Assyria was in decline and traditions emerged which endorsed Zion's inviolability. If this is the case, it is possible that the account of Hezekiah was initially compiled at that time to reinforce the prevalent Zion theology.⁸⁶ Furthermore, the confident tone of the narrative with regard to God's protection of Jerusalem suggests a pre-exilic date for its redaction prior to the fall of Judah and destruction of Jerusalem in 587 BCE. The traditional theory for the insertion of the independent block of chapters 36-39 into the larger context of the book of Isaiah relies on the view that three distinct segments of the book of Isaiah (chapters 1-39, 40-55, and 56-66) came into existence in three stages: before, during, and after the exile. As each subsequent block of material was added, the previous sections were left effectively unaltered. Based on this reconstruction, it is plausible that the Chronicler, writing in the Persian era, could have had access to the essentially completed form of the Hezekiah narrative and its surrounding literary context as it appears in the book of Isaiah.

However, more recent reconstructions of the development of the book of Isaiah suppose that the addition of chapters 40-55 toward the end of the exile⁸⁷

⁸⁶ Hermann Barth, *Die Jesaja-Worte in der Josiazeit: Israel und Assur als Thema einer produktiven Neuinterpretation der Jesajaüberlieferung*, WMANT 48 (Neukirchen-Vlajn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1977); Jacques Vermeylen, "L'unité du livre d'Isaïe," in *The Book of Isaiah*, ed. Jacques Vermeylen, BETL 81 (Leuven: University Press, 1989), 11-53; Ronald E. Clements, *Isaiah 1-39*, NCB (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1980); Marvin A. Sweeney, *Isaiah 1-39: with an Introduction to Prophetic Literature*, FOTL 16 (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1996), 57-59.

⁸⁷ The association of chapters 40-55 with the end of the exile is based on anticipation of Cyrus as the deliverer (Isa 44:28) and exhortations for the exiles to leave Babylon (Isa 48:20). Debate surrounds the question of whether chapters 40-55 were developed just before or just after the end of the exile. The place of composition, either Babylon or Jerusalem, is typically employed as a central element in each argument. See the overviews by Patricia Tull Willey, *Remember the Former Things: The Recollection*

resulted in a thorough redaction of the entire complex in order to coordinate the earlier material in chapters 1-35 with the new theological perspectives communicated in chapters 40-55.⁸⁸ According to this theory, chapters 36-39 were inserted at this time to bridge the two sections. This explanation dates the incorporation of chapters 36-39 into the book of Isaiah closer to the composition of Chronicles, at the beginning of the Persian era, though the possibility that the Chronicler had access to those textual traditions remains. Even those proposals which assign a very late date to the composition of Deutero-Isaiah (450-400 BCE)⁸⁹ or post-exilic redactions of the entire complex extending into the Persian period⁹⁰ still do not mitigate against the possibility that the material could have been available to the Chronicler in a form which closely resembled the structure and content existing in the present day.

The book of Jeremiah reflects a complex compositional and redactional history based on the diverse forms of material within the book, the various non-sequential chronological indicators throughout, and the different textual versions preserved in MT, LXX, and Qumran witnesses. Almost a century ago, Sigmund Mowinckel proposed a series of formal divisions for the MT version of the book

of Previous Texts in Second Isaiah, SBLDS 161 (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1997), 84-85; Klaus Baltzer, *Deutero-Isaiah: A Commentary on Isaiah 40-55*, Hermeneia (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2001), 23-24; Christopher R. Seitz, *Zion's Final Destiny* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1991), 1-35. One solution to the problem is the view that Deutero-Isaiah is comprised of two distinct sections, chapters 40-48 and 49-55, the former having been composed in Babylon during the exile and the latter after 539 BCE in Jerusalem. See the overview of research by Jan L. Koole, *Isaiah: Part 3, Volume 1: Isaiah 40-48*, HCOT (Kampen: Kok Pharos Publishing House, 1997), 14-18.

⁸⁸ Odil Hannes Steck, *Bereitete Heimkehr: Jesaja 35 als redactionelle Brücke zwischen dem Ersten und dem Zweiten Jesaja*, SBS 121 (Stuttgart: Katholisches Bibelwerk, 1985).

⁸⁹ Baltzer argues for this date based on perceived similarities with the literary style and agenda of Nehemiah which itself has a very disputed date, ranging from the mid-fifth to mid-fourth centuries BCE. Baltzer, *Deutero-Isaiah*, 30-32. Nevertheless, the absence of specific mention of the capture of Babylon in 539 BCE and the hopes associated with Cyrus lead most scholars to assign a much earlier date to the book of Nehemiah, toward the beginning of Persian rule.

⁹⁰ The possibility of late redactional activity is widely held among scholars, extending back to Bernhard Duhm, *Das Buch Jesaja*, HKAT 3.1 (Göttingen Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1892). However, such additions at the late stages of redaction are generally minor glosses rather than insertions of entire pericopes. See, for example, the redactional layers posited by Odil Hannes Steck, *Gottesknecht und Zion: Gesammelte Aufsätze zu Deuterojesaja* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1992), 125, and Reinhard Gregor Kratz, *Kyros im Deuterojesaja-Buch: Redaktionsgeschichtliche Untersuchungen zu Entstehung*, FAT 1 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1991), 217.

corresponding to the sequence of its compositional or redactional stages.⁹¹ Source A is comprised of the poetic oracles in chapters 1-25 which originated from the prophet himself (ca. 627-587 BCE); source B contains the prose narratives written some time later (perhaps by Baruch or a circle of Jeremiah's disciples) and contained in chapters 26-45; source C was composed even later and consists of the prose speeches reflecting Deuteronomistic influence;⁹² and source D contains the future-oriented oracles, especially those found in chapters 30-31. The last segment attached to the corpus was chapters 46-52 which Mowinckel deemed to be a post-exilic addition. Of this reconstruction, the only commonly contested point in current scholarship is the late date assigned to the oracles of salvation in source D.⁹³ The addition of chapters 46-52 as an appendix is widely agreed upon by scholars. Chapters 46-51 consist of a collection of Oracles Against the Nations which appear to have been secondarily attached to the end of the book;⁹⁴ chapter 52 corresponds to the account of the fall of Jerusalem preserved in 2 Kgs 25 and is generally thought to have been borrowed from Kings as an appropriate conclusion to the work.

⁹¹ Sigmund Mowinckel, *Zur Komposition des Buches Jeremia* (Kristiania: J. Dybwad, 1914).

⁹² The extent and means of Deuteronomistic influence is much debated but difficult to dismiss entirely based on the density of thematic and lexical associations between the works. Moreover, the dating of the Deuteronomistic redaction is disputed, resulting from disagreements over the editorial phases reflected in the DtrH itself. The parameters of the debate are outlined by Robert P. Carroll, *Jeremiah: A Commentary*, OTL (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1986), 65-69.

⁹³ Several scholars contend that this material is Jeremianic in origin but has been altered through Deuteronomistic, exilic, and post-exilic redactions. Helga Weippert, *Die Prosareden des Jeremiabuches*, BZAW 132 (Berlin, New York: de Gruyter, 1973), 2.201; Bernard P. Robinson, "Jeremiah's New Covenant: Jer. 31,31-34," *SJOT* 15 (2001): 181-204; Norbert Lohfink, "Der junge Jeremia als Propagandist und Poet: Zum Grundstock von Jer. 30-31," in *Le Livre de Jeremie: Le prophete et son milieu, les oracles et leur transmission*, ed. Pierre-Maurice Bogaert, BETL 54 (Leuven: Peeters, 1981), 351-68; William Lee Holladay, *Jeremiah 2: A Commentary on the Book of the Prophet Jeremiah Chapters 26-52*, Hermeneia (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1989), 155-71.

⁹⁴ In the Greek version of Jeremiah, which most scholars believe to be prior to the MT version, these oracles appear earlier in the book (after Jer 25:13) and in a different order. On analogy, in Isaiah and Ezekiel, the OAN are located in the center of the books (Isa 13-23; Ezek 25-32). For an overview of views and arguments concerning the relocation of Jer 46-51 to the end of the book at a subsequent stage in its transmission history, see Jack R. Lundbom, *Jeremiah 37-52*, AB 21C (Garden City, New York: Doubleday, 2004), 181-83.

The probability of post-exilic textual and redactional reworking of the material in Jeremiah creates uncertainty with regard to the form and scope of the Jeremianic source used by the Chronicler. The reasons for positing a post-exilic redaction to the book of Jeremiah are the indications within the book that Babylon has been defeated (Jer 25:11-12; 27:7). Similarly, comparison of LXX and Qumran texts suggests that the MT form of the book reflects a later, post-exilic edition which has added portions asserting the downfall of Babylon (e.g., Jer 25:14; 27:7, 19-22).⁹⁵ In addition, sections of the book which emphasize return to the land and rebuilding of Jerusalem (Jer 16:14-15; 30:18-21; 31:7-9, 12-14, 38-40) could push the date of the addition of these elements as far forward as the fifth century BCE or later.⁹⁶ These features allow for only a short interval of time between the final redactions of the book of Jeremiah and the composition of Chronicles. In spite of this, the assertion that the Chronicler used some form of the book of Jeremiah as a source is essentially uncontested. This is because Chronicles explicitly cites the prophecies of Jeremiah in the concluding verses of the book (2 Chr 36:21-22) and borrows the motif of a seventy-year exile from Jer 25:11-12. In the final chapter of Chronicles, more than at any other point in the book, the Chronicler makes the influence of material from the Latter Prophets explicit. Therefore, though it may not have been the final redacted version of Jeremiah which was consulted by the Chronicler, there is strong evidence that a Jeremianic source in a form bearing the general content and theology of the modern text was operative in the composition of Chronicles.

⁹⁵ Emanuel Tov, "Some Aspects of the Textual and Literary History of the Book of Jeremiah," in *Le Livre de Jérémie*, ed. Bogaert, 145-67.

⁹⁶ Carroll, *Jeremiah*, 68-72; Knauf, "Does 'Deuteronomistic Historiography' (DH) Exist?," 388-98; Eckart Otto, "Scribal Scholarship in the Formation of Torah and Prophets: A Postexilic Scribal Debate between Priestly Scholarship and Literary Prophecy -- The Example of the Book of Jeremiah and Its Relation to the Pentateuch," in *The Pentateuch as Torah: New Models for Understanding Its Promulgation and Acceptance*, ed. Gary Knoppers and Bernard Levinson (Winona Lake, Indiana: Eisenbrauns, 2007), 171-84.

To summarize, the influence of literature from Samuel-Kings and the Latter Prophets on the composition of Chronicles has received no shortage of attention in modern biblical criticism. Among the majority of scholars, the priority and availability of Samuel-Kings, Isaiah, and Jeremiah at the time of the Chronicler's work is widely accepted. Nevertheless, the precise form of the Chronicler's historiographical and prophetic sources remains unclear. Developments in the field of textual criticism and increased understanding of the complex processes of redaction that underlie biblical texts complicate a comparative analysis of Chronicles vis-à-vis other biblical material. One cannot simply assume that the Chronicler worked with forms of Samuel-Kings and the Latter Prophets which correspond in scope and textual detail to the MT. In fact, this is almost certainly not the case.

In spite of these uncertainties regarding the nature of the sources underlying Chronicles, it is nevertheless a valuable task to seek to discern the character of the textual relationship between these books. Study of correspondences between biblical texts illuminates the compositional methods and literary artistry which generated biblical literature. Furthermore, one gains a window into the significance and authority of textual traditions in ancient Israel. Most importantly, an author's incorporation of antecedent texts may be a significant communicational strategy indicating that the two texts are meant to be read in light of each other.⁹⁷ To this end, it is hoped that analysis of the Hezekiah narrative and the account of the fall of Judah – narratives which reflect unambiguous literary dependence – can assist in elucidating the function of those accounts in each literary context and the Chronicler's distinctive handling of his textual ancestors.

⁹⁷ Richard Hays, *Echoes of Scripture in the Letters of Paul* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989), 17-20; Richard L. Schultz, *The Search for Quotation: Verbal Parallels in the Prophets*, JSOTSup 180 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1999), 230-31.

The Chronicler's Method of Integrating Texts

A precursor to the proposed enquiry is the provision of a rubric for describing the nature of influence observable between Chronicles and other texts. This involves distinguishing between parallels that resulted from a deliberate, linear integration of locutions from one text to another and those that reflect social and linguistic patterns which have been consciously or unconsciously incorporated into a text. The former type of literary affinity focuses on the transmission of concepts, structure, and language from one written text to another. It therefore asks diachronic questions to identify the source text(s) used by a later author, to determine the direction of influence between two parallel texts, to evaluate the impact of an earlier text on a subsequent text, and to discern the ways in which a later text deliberately employs prior material. At the heart of this type of analysis is the premise that direct literary *influence* is responsible for the similarities between texts.⁹⁸ In contrast, analysis of thematic, stylistic, and verbal affinity between texts which results perhaps unintentionally as a result of the continuous exchange of ideas within culture can be described as *intertextuality*.⁹⁹ This type of analysis explores both the conscious and unconscious web of relations between texts in which a text is broadly defined to include, in addition to written material, social conventions, underlying ideologies, and established codes of communication. Intertextuality is primarily synchronic in that it

⁹⁸ See the definitions of "influence" by Louis Renza, "Influence," in *Critical Terms for Literary Study*, ed. Frank Lentricchia and Thomas McLaughlin (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1990), 186-202; Jay Clayton and Eric Rothstein, "Figures in the Corpus: Theories of Influence," in *Influence and Intertextuality in Literary History*, ed. Jay Clayton and Eric Rothstein (Madison, Wisconsin: University of Wisconsin Press, 1991), 3-11; Benjamin D. Sommer, *A Prophet Reads Scripture: Allusion in Isaiah 40-66* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1998), 6-15. This emphasis on the deliberate reuse of textual antecedents contrasts with the use of the term "influence" as used by Harold Bloom, *The Anxiety of Influence: A Theory of Poetry* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1973), 5, and Michael A. Lyons, *From Law to Prophecy: Ezekiel's Use of the Holiness Code*, LHBOTS 507 (New York; London: T & T Clark, 2009), 50-51.

⁹⁹ This distinction between influence and intertextuality is primarily derived from the discussion of the terms set forth by Clayton and Rothstein: "We will start with the generalization that influence has to do with agency, whereas intertextuality has to do with a much more impersonal field of crossing texts," "Figures in the Corpus," 4.

reads two texts against each other without regard for historical priority or authorial intention. Emphasis is instead placed on the effect upon the reader of reading one text in light of another.¹⁰⁰

The present investigation arises out of the observable interrelationship between biblical passages and seeks to discern the manner and effects of the phenomenon of literary repetition. This emphasis on the text as part of a larger system benefits from the insights of intertextuality insofar as the synchronic reading of each text in its final form provides a window into the impression it has on subsequent readers, authors, and texts. On the other hand, because the investigation presupposes the Chronicler's dependence on prior written texts, diachronic questions dealing with influence play a major role in the discussion. Several recent studies have analyzed the techniques and purposes of the Chronicler's transformation of Judah's history vis-à-vis the presentation of the material in Samuel-Kings.¹⁰¹ Because of the fairly recent interest in the role of prophetic literature in the composition of Chronicles, less attention has been devoted to the nature and effects of the Chronicler's incorporation of this material. For this reason, two observations about the nature of prophetic

¹⁰⁰ This use of the term "intertextuality" as a phenomenon that occurs in the process of reading a text is similar to the meaning of the word in works by Julia Kristeva, *Desire in Language: A Semiotic Approach to Literature and Art*, ed. Leon S. Roudiez, trans. Alice Jardine, Thomas Gora, and Leon S. Roudiez (New York: Columbia University Press, 1980); idem, *Revolution in Poetic Language*, trans. Margaret Waller (New York: Columbia University Press, 1984); Roland Barthes, "Theory of the Text," in *Untying the Text: A Post-Structuralist Reader*, ed. R. Young (Boston: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1981); Clayton and Rothstein, "Figures in the Corpus," 17-29; Benjamin D. Sommer, "Exegesis, Allusion and Intertextuality in the Hebrew Bible: A Response to Lyle Eslinger," *VT* 46 (1996): 479-88 (86-88); Lyons, *From Law to Prophecy*, 48-50; Sommer, *Prophet Reads Scripture*, 6-10. In contrast to these reader-oriented approaches to intertextuality, several biblical scholars employ the term to describe authorially intended interrelationships between texts. See, for example, the contributions of Lyle Eslinger, "Inner-biblical Exegesis and Inner-biblical Allusion: The Question of Category," *VT* 42 (1992): 47-58; Hays, *Echoes of Scripture*, 14-15; Gail O'Day, "Jeremiah 9:22-23 and 1 Corinthians 1:26-31: A Study in Intertextuality," *JBL* 109 (1990): 259-67; James D. Nogalski, "Intertextuality and the Twelve," in *Forming Prophetic Literature: Essays on Isaiah and the Twelve in Honor of John D. W. Watts*, ed. James W. Watts and Paul House, JSOTSup 235 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1996), 102-24; Michael Fishbane, "Types of Biblical Intertextuality," in *Congress Volume: Oslo 1998*, ed. André Lemaire and Magne Sæbø, VTSup 80 (Leiden: Brill, 2000), 39-44.

¹⁰¹ Japhet, *The Ideology of Chronicles*; Kalimi, *Reshaping of Ancient Israelite History*; Marc Zvi Brettler, *The Creation of History in Ancient Israel* (London: Routledge 1995); Panc Beentjes, "Discovering a New Path of Intertextuality," in *Literary Structure and Rhetorical Strategy in the Hebrew Bible*, ed. L. J. de Regt, J. de Waard, and J. P. Fokkelman (Assen: Van Gorcum 1996).

influence reflected in Chronicles need further clarification as a means of grounding the discussion to follow. First, the Chronicler's incorporation of antecedent literature from the Latter Prophets is both deliberate and coincidental, ranging from explicit borrowing of prior material to employing well-known expressions and rhetorical techniques. Second, Chronicles consists of a spectrum of literary echoes ranging from quotation to allusion; this includes the replication of texts (words, phrases, and entire passages), but also of concepts, themes, and motifs.

Deliberate and Coincidental Dependence

The Chronicler's dependence on material preserved in the Latter Prophets is particularly evident in the speeches found in the narrative. The most thorough analysis of the speeches to date is Rex Mason's *Preaching the Tradition* in which he compares the speeches in Chronicles to other post-exilic "addresses" in Ezra, Nehemiah, Haggai, Zechariah 1-8, and Malachi. He observes that the speeches hold in common certain rhetorical devices, such as play on words, appeal to past history, rhetorical questions, and call for attention. In addition to these formal and structural similarities between the speeches, there is a correspondence in content, themes, and motifs. The question raised by this observation is whether the Chronicler borrowed these structural, thematic, and linguistic features from other post-exilic literature (the result of deliberate reuse) or whether the parallels indicate commonly held literary devices and expressions current at the time of writing (an unintended correspondence). Mason is inclined toward the latter view, concluding that the Chronicler's speeches "reflected some of the homiletical practice with which he and his hearers were familiar from the second temple."¹⁰² He goes on to state that there is "strong evidence to support the

¹⁰² Mason, *Preaching the Tradition*, 257.

hypothesis that the influence common to them all was a general pattern of preaching and teaching which was familiar from the practice of the second temple.”¹⁰³

While the similar homiletical techniques exemplified in both Chronicles and post-exilic literature point to coincidental, shared conventions and homiletical trends between the literary corpuses, there is also good reason to conclude that the Chronicler thoughtfully employed language and motifs from the Latter Prophets as well.¹⁰⁴ Several criteria for distinguishing between unintentional and purposeful reuse present themselves.¹⁰⁵ An initial indication of deliberate borrowing is verbal and syntactical correspondence.¹⁰⁶ This condition involves the extent of the repeated segment, the frequency of the shared locution, and the nature of the expression. A

¹⁰³ Ibid., 258.

¹⁰⁴ By claiming “intentional” borrowing I do not imply that the author’s designs are immediately accessible to the modern reader, nor that such accessibility is necessary for accurate interpretation of the text. Instead, I am interested in the conventions and codes utilized by biblical authors to indicate that literary borrowing has occurred. See the discussions by Schultz, *Search for Quotation*, 225; Edgar Conrad, “Forming the Twelve and Forming Canon,” in *Thematic Threads in the Book of the Twelve*, ed. Paul L. Redditt and Aaron Scharf, BZAW 325 (Berlin, New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2003), 90-103; Lyons, *From Law to Prophecy*, 68.

¹⁰⁵ Various scholars have proposed criteria for identifying intentional borrowing within biblical literature. Richard Hays provides seven tests for determining the presence of scriptural echoes in Pauline literature: 1) Availability of the proposed source of the echo to the author and/or original readers; 2) Volume of explicit repetition of words or syntactical patterns; 3) Recurrence of both words and larger passages from which an allusion is taken; 4) Thematic coherence, or how well the proposed echo fits into the new context; 5) Historical plausibility that the author intended the echo and the readers understood it; 6) History of interpretation which also identified the existence of an echo; and 7) Satisfaction, or the extent to which the proposed reading provides a satisfying account of the effect of the literary echo. Hays, *Echoes of Scripture*, 29-32. Jeffrey Leonard asserts that “shared language is the single most important factor in establishing a textual connection” and goes on to qualify his statement by elaborating that stronger connections are established when the shared language is rare or distinctive rather than widely used; phrases rather than individual words; accumulated with other shared language rather than an isolated incident; and in a similar context to that of the source text. He also observes that non-shared language does not undermine the possibility of an inner-biblical allusion and that shared language need not be accompanied by shared ideology or a shared form to establish a genuine connection, “Identifying Inner-Biblical Allusions: Psalm 78 as a Test Case,” *JBL* 127, no. 2 (2008): 241-65 (246-57). Michael Lyons proposes four criteria for determining purposeful reuse: 1) Frequency and distribution of the locutions; 2) Awareness of the context from which the locution is taken; 3) Availability of linguistic options for the author of the target text; and 4) Additional interaction with the source text. Lyons, *From Law to Prophecy*, 68-75. Richard Schultz succinctly defines the criteria for detecting quotation between the Prophets as 1) Verbal and syntactical correspondence, and 2) Contextual awareness. Schultz, *Search for Quotation*, 222-24. Because Schultz’s two conditions concisely encompass several aspects of the lists mentioned above, his criteria will function as a paradigm for the detection of literary borrowing in Chronicles.

¹⁰⁶ On this point, see especially Fishbane, *Biblical Interpretation*, 285; Risto Nurmela, *Prophets in Dialogue: Inner Biblical Allusions in Zechariah 1-8 and 9-14* (Åbo: Åbo Akademi University Press, 1996), 21-27; Schultz, *Search for Quotation*, 222-24; Leonard, “Identifying Inner-Biblical Allusions,” 246-48.

replication that is more than one word or several words in length is more likely to be the result of literary borrowing.¹⁰⁷ However, this raises the questions of how long and how faithful to the original wording an expression must be in order to be considered deliberate reuse. In most cases, length of a repeated locution is not enough, in itself, to provide a consensus that intentional borrowing has occurred. In conjunction with the degree of similarity between two expressions, the paucity of similar phraseology elsewhere in biblical literature serves as a possible indication of literary borrowing.¹⁰⁸ Conversely, a phrase that occurs frequently throughout a broad range of literature is more likely to be a common expression whose distribution is the result of cultural conventions or of limited lexical possibilities for expressing a particular idea. This raises the additional issue of the nature of the repeated segment. Richard Schultz asserts that genuine quotations must be carefully distinguished from conventional expressions. He states,

Because of the derivative nature of all literature, repeated language is to be found in abundance in all genres. In quotation one is looking for a phrase with distinctive formulation and content that lacks the gnomic features of proverbial sayings..., formulaic expressions which may reflect the limited resources of a language's linguistic store, or simple images that bear a general character.¹⁰⁹

Indeed, language shared between two texts which is rare or used distinctively increases the probability that genuine borrowing has occurred.¹¹⁰

¹⁰⁷ Hays, *Echoes of Scripture*, 30; Schultz, *Search for Quotation*, 214; 222-23; Leonard, "Identifying Inner-Biblical Allusions," 252-53.

¹⁰⁸ Hays, *Echoes of Scripture*, 30; Lyons, *From Law to Prophecy*, 68-69.

¹⁰⁹ Schultz, *Search for Quotation*, 214.

¹¹⁰ On this point, see also Cynthia Edenburg, "How (Not) to Murder a King: Variations on a Theme in 1 Sam 24:26," *SJOT* 12, no. 1 (1998): 64-85 (72); Leonard, "Identifying Inner-Biblical Allusions," 251-52. However, purposeful reuse is not negated by the presence of common terms; an author can borrow both ordinary and rare expressions, as discussed by Leonard, "Identifying Inner-Biblical Allusions," 251, and Lyons, *From Law to Prophecy*, 69.

As an example, one can observe echoes between the speeches in Chronicles and the book of Zechariah, which is a component that features prominently in Mason’s investigation.¹¹¹ Particularly strong verbal and thematic parallels to the prophecies of Zechariah are evident in the words of Hanani the seer in 2 Chr 16:9 – “For the eyes of the LORD run to and fro throughout the whole earth, to give strong support to those whose heart is blameless toward him” – which echoes the image and language of Zech 4:10 speaking of “the eyes of the LORD, which range through the whole earth.”

כִּי יְהוָה עֵינָיו מְשַׁטְטוֹת בְּכָל־הָאָרֶץ (2 Chr 16:9)

עֵינֵי יְהוָה הִמָּה מְשׁוֹטְטִים בְּכָל־הָאָרֶץ (Zech 4:10)

Several features of this verbal correspondence support the conclusion that this is an example of deliberate reuse. The duplicated segment is several words in length as opposed to an isolated shared word or phrase. While this criterion alone is not enough to argue against a coincidental parallel, the fact that the expression does not occur elsewhere in biblical literature suggests that this is not merely a conventional turn of phrase. The combination of these words to express the attention of the LORD is rare, making this repetition more likely to be deliberate. Of this duplication between Zechariah and Chronicles, Mason himself concludes, with strong support from the scholarly community, that Chronicles reflects an “unmistakable parallel with the

¹¹¹ This survey of the literary parallels between Chronicles and Zechariah leaves open the question of the direction of dependence between these two books. This issue lies outside of the scope of this thesis since the focus here is specifically the influence of Isaiah and Jeremiah on Chronicles. Because a post-exilic date is almost certain for both Chronicles and Deutero-Zechariah, and since both books seem to have been composed through literary dependence on other Scripture, the influence may have gone in either or both directions. For more on this issue, see Mark J. Boda and Michael H. Floyd, eds., *Bringing out the Treasure: Inner Biblical Allusion in Zechariah 9-14*, JSOTSup 370 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2003).

prophecy of Zechariah.”¹¹² He goes on to assert that “Zech. 4:10b is quoted verbatim.”¹¹³

In addition to using the conditions of quality (the non-conventional nature of a repeated passage) and quantity (the length and distribution of the repeated section) to identify literary dependence, the proportion of material appearing in both texts signals that borrowing has occurred.¹¹⁴ When the target text contains a number of assorted locutions from the source text, this is a good indication that the author of the target text was familiar with the source text and that the verbal similarities are the result of intentional borrowing. Turning again to Chronicles and Zechariah, one finds multiple distinct locutions shared by both works, further supporting the case for literary dependence.

For example, the admonition in Zech 1:4, “Do not be like your fathers, אֶל־תִּהְיוּ” וְאֶל־תִּהְיוּ” is a verbatim repetition of Hezekiah’s admonition in 2 Chr 30:7: “אֶל־תִּהְיוּ” וְאֶל־תִּהְיוּ” (see also the similar exhortation in 2 Chr 29:6 and 30:8).¹¹⁵ By itself, this saying may simply be a common rhetorical expression. However, the play on the

¹¹² Mason, *Preaching the Tradition*, 54; Notice the confidence among other scholars that the Chronicler is here relying on Zechariah: “There is no doubt that verse 9a is a quotation from Zech. IV.10b,” von Rad, “Levitical Sermon,” 269-70; “Hinter II 16, 9 steht deutlich Sach. 4, 10,” Willi, *Die Chronik als Auslegung*, 223; “At 2 Chr. 16:9 there is a citation of Zech. 4:10,” Williamson, *I and 2 Chronicles*, 15; see also 274-75; “The image and language of Zech 4:10 is reused in the prophetic sermon of 2 Chr. 16:9,” Fishbane, *Biblical Interpretation*, 451, n. 7; “The prophecy of Hanani makes use of biblical citations,” Japhet, *I & II Chronicles*, 735; “Because 2 Chr 16:3-7 as a whole holds so many resemblances to Biblical texts, the most plausible inference must be that Zech 8:10 is the parent text,” Beentjes, “Historical Persons,” 138. For arguments against literary dependence in this instance, see Beuken, *Haggai-Sacharja 1-8*, 162-63; Schniedewind, *Word of God in Transition*, 91.

¹¹³ *Preaching the Tradition*, 54.

¹¹⁴ Schultz and Lyons characterize this criterion as “contextual awareness,” Schultz, *Search for Quotation*, 224-25; Lyons, *From Law to Prophecy*, 69-71. For Hays, this principle falls under his discussion of “Recurrence,” *Echoes of Scripture*, 30. On this point, see also Sommer, *Prophet Reads Scripture*, 34-35, and Leonard, “Identifying Inner-Biblical Allusions,” 253-55.

¹¹⁵ For a more thorough discussion of the linguistic, thematic, and structural similarities between these two passages in particular (Zech 1:2-6 and 2 Chr 30:6-9), see Mason, “Some Echoes”; idem, *Preaching the Tradition*, 49.

word שׁוּב “return” in that same speech bears resemblance to the use of the word in the same passage in Zechariah, which again suggests literary borrowing:

Zech 1:3

שׁוּבוּ אֵלַי נְאֻם יְהוָה צְבָאוֹת וְאֶשׁוּב אֲלֵיכֶם
 “Return to me, says the LORD of
 hosts, and I will return to you.”

2 Chr 30:6

שׁוּבוּ אֶל־יְהוָה...וְיָשָׁב אֶל הַפְּלִיטָה לָכֶם
 “Return to the LORD,...that he
 may turn again to you.”

An even more compelling example is seen in the lexical similarity between Zech 8:9-13 and Azariah’s speech in 2 Chr 15:5-7:¹¹⁶

Zech 8:10

הַיָּמִים הָהֵם (Zech 8:10)
 “in those days”

וְלִיּוֹצֵא וְלִבָּא אֵין־שְׁלוֹם (Zech 8:10)
 “neither was there any safety
 from the foe for him who went
 out or came in.”

תְּחַזְקֶנָּה יְדֵיכֶם (Zech 8:9, 13)
 “let your hands be strong”

2 Chr 15:5

וּבְעֵתִים הָהֵם (2 Chr 15:5)
 “in those times”

אֵין שְׁלוֹם לִיּוֹצֵא וְלִבָּא (2 Chr 15:5);
 “there was no peace to him who
 went out or to him who came in”

וְאַל־יִרְפוּ יְדֵיכֶם (2 Chr 15:7)
 “do not let your hands be weak”

Here again, any of these phrases in isolation would not provide sufficient evidence of literary borrowing, but the fact that several expressions occur together in close proximity in both texts does point toward intentional reuse. Multiple analogous expressions appearing in Chronicles and Zechariah – both in close proximity and spanning the entire scope of both books – support the conclusion that this is a case of genuine literary dependence. The probability that the two works could coincidentally

¹¹⁶ Ibid. These correspondences have been corroborated by Willi, *Die Chronik als Auslegung*, 225-26, n. 34, and Beentjes, “Historical Persons,” 137.

share such a dense number of parallel phrases, which are in many cases virtually identical, is doubtful.

From Allusion to Quotation

Not all of the parallels between Chronicles and the Latter Prophets are extensive or explicit. The Chronicler's method of employing texts reflects a broad spectrum of possibilities. Accurately labelling the types of reuse observable in Chronicles requires some clarification of terms. Both "allusion" and "quotation" function as umbrella terms to describe correspondences between texts. The distinction between the two labels, for the purpose of this investigation, centres on the extent to which *verbal locutions* function as the indicators of literary affinity. Allusion describes dependence which is observable through more general or indirect indicators such as themes, motifs, images, key terms, concepts, and structure. Earl Miner, in his discussion of allusion, suggests that it is a kind of referencing which, though deliberate, is not overt and may therefore be missed by some readers. This is because, "although poetic allusion is necessarily manifested in words, what it draws on in another work need not be verbal. The words of the alluding passage may establish a conceptual rather than a verbal connection with the passage or work alluded to."¹¹⁷

For example, the speeches in Chronicles frequently evoke key words and phrases characteristic of warning and rebuke in the Latter Prophets. These include expressions such as קֶצֶף "wrath,"¹¹⁸ חֵמָה "anger,"¹¹⁹ וַיַּחֲגִם לְזִוְעָה לְשֹׂמֵה וּלְשִׂרְקָה "make

¹¹⁷ Earl Miner, "Allusion," in *The New Princeton Handbook of Poetic Terms*, ed. T. V. F. Brogan (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994), 14. So also Ziva Ben-Porat states that the element shared in two texts "is used for the activation of independent elements from the evoked text. These are never referred to directly," "The Poetics of Literary Allusion," *PTL: A Journal for Descriptive Poetics and Theory of Literature* 1 (1976): 108-09. Further discussion of allusion as applied to biblical studies is provided by Sommer, *Prophet Reads Scripture*, 10-31; Lyons, *From Law to Prophecy*, 51-53.

¹¹⁸ 2 Chr 19:2; 24:18; 29:8; and in non-speech portions: 2 Chr 19:10; 32:25, 26. Similar occurrences of the word with reference to God's wrath occur in Isa 34:2; 47:6; 54:8, 9; 57:16, 17;

them an object of horror, of astonishment, and of hissing,”¹²⁰ and תִּקְשׁוּ עַרְפְּכֶם “stiffen your neck.”¹²¹ The Chronicler also employs expressions of consolation which are common in prophetic literature, such as כִּי־חַנּוּן וְרַחוּם יְהוָה “the LORD is gracious and merciful,”¹²² פְּלִיטָה “remnant,”¹²³ the repeated assertion, לֵךְ יִמְצֵא לְךָ “if you seek him, he will be found by you,”¹²⁴ In addition, components of the typical oracle of salvation are present in 2 Chr 20:15-17 and 2 Chr 32:7, including the naming of the audience, the use of the אֶל־תִּירָא formula, and the declaration of salvation.¹²⁵ In most cases, these expressions are characteristic of prophetic oracle and less common outside of the Latter Prophets. Because these expressions and structures are such common features of prophetic oracles, it is possible that the Chronicler’s use of them arises from a thorough acquaintance with the literature through verbal memory rather than from the actual extraction and insertion of words and phrases from one context to

60:10; 64:4 [5 EV]; 8 [9 EV]; Jer 10:10; 21:5; 32:37; 37:15; 50:13; Zech 1:2, 15; 7:12; 8:14. Though the description of God’s קָצַף occurs with high frequency in these books of the Latter Prophets, it does appear elsewhere in the Hebrew Bible: Num 1:53; 16:22, 46; 18:5; Deut 1:34; 9:7, 8, 19, 22; 29:27 [28 EV]; Josh 22:18, 20; 2 Kgs 3:27; Ps 38:2 [1 EV]; 102:11 [10 EV]; 106:32; Eccl 5:5 [6 EV]; Lam 5:22; Ezr 7:23.

¹¹⁹ 2 Chr 12:7; 28:9; 34:25. This word occurs predominantly in the Latter Prophets with reference to God’s anger in a similar way to its usage in the Chronic speeches: thirteen times in Isaiah, sixteen times in Jeremiah, twenty-nine times in Ezekiel, and four times in the Book of the Twelve. In contrast the word is used with reference to God’s anger five times in the Torah and thirteen times in all of the Writings.

¹²⁰ 2 Chr 29:8; and similar language in 2 Chr 30:7. This combination of terms occurs only in Chronicles and the Latter Prophets: Jer 18:16; 19:8; 25:9, 18; 29:18; 51:37; Mic 6:16.

¹²¹ 2 Chr 30:8; and in a non-speech passage in 2 Chr 36:13. This idiom of קָשָׁה in the Hiphil stem + עָרַף is recognizable from Jeremianic literature: Jer 7:26; 17:23; 19:15. It also occurs in Deut 10:16; 2 Kgs 17:14; Prov 29:1; Neh 9:16, 17, 29.

¹²² 2 Chr 30:9; Joel 2:13; Jon 4:2.

¹²³ 2 Chr 12:7; 30:6. This term occurs frequently in the Latter Prophets: Isa 4:2; 10:20; 15:9; 37:31; Jer 25:35; 50:29; Ezek 14:22; Joel 2:3; 3:5 [2:32 EV]; Obad 17. Outside of the Latter Prophets, the word appears in Gen 32:9; 45:7; Ex 10:5; Jdgs 21:17; 2 Sam 15:14; 2 Kgs 19:30; Dan 11:42; Ezr 9:8, 13, 14, 15; Neh 1:2.

¹²⁴ 1 Chr 28:9; 2 Chr 15:2. Similar syntactical constructions which utilize מֵצֵא + דֵּרַשׁ with God as the object are located in Jer 29:13-14, Isa 55:6; 65:1, as well as in Deut 4:29.

¹²⁵ Williamson, *1 and 2 Chronicles*, 298.

another, as is the case with quotation.¹²⁶ Nevertheless, because these expressions so fully carry the stamp of prophetic oracle, their presence in Chronicles operates as a deliberate rhetorical device. By mimicking such language, the Chronicler creates a thematic association between the narrative context in which the speeches are inserted and the literary context of the prophetic oracles. Since these favourite prophetic idioms of the Chronicler revolve around themes of exile and restoration, a subtle but unmistakable allusion is made with themes of exile and restoration as described in the Latter Prophets.

In contrast to the oblique manner of relating texts which results from allusion, quotation creates an explicit association based on more extensive linguistic similarities. The most obvious form of quotation in biblical literature includes an introductory formula in which the source of the locution is cited. However, the rarity of such citation in the Hebrew Bible suggests that it was not an essential feature of quotation at the time.¹²⁷ Instead, inner-biblical quotation is more frequently indicated by verbal correspondence between two texts. Such affinity may reflect a spectrum of fidelity to the source, ranging from verbatim repetition to paraphrase¹²⁸ but in any case, a sufficient degree of quality and similarity between the two texts, combined

¹²⁶ Several recent treatments of the influence of ancient Israel's oral culture on the textualization and transmission of literature support the claim that the Chronicler's familiarity with oral performances of the prophetic traditions may have provided sufficient access to influence his composition of a written text. Susan Niditch, *Oral World and Written Word: Ancient Israelite Literature* (Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 1996); David M. Carr, *Writing on the Tablet of the Heart: Origins of Scripture and Literature* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005); Person, *Deuteronomistic History*.

¹²⁷ Schultz, *Search for Quotation*, 219.

¹²⁸ Most biblical scholars agree that biblical quotation operates on a continuum of fidelity to its source material, ranging from greater to lesser resemblance. For example, Isaac Leo Seeligmann speaks of "Anlehnungen," "Umbildungen," and "Paraphrasen," "Voraussetzungen der Midraschexegese," in *VTSup* (1953), 150-81 (157). Walther Zimmerli classifies the quotations in Third Isaiah as "verbatim or near-verbatim quotation," "free imitation and recombination," and "brief reminiscences," "Zur Sprache Tritojesajas," in *Gottes Offenbarung: Gesammelte Aufsätze zum Alten Testament* (München: Chr. Kaiser Verlag, 1963), 41-119. Similarly, Schultz classifies the types of quotation between prophetic books into three categories: "quotation," "verbal dependence," and "verbal parallel," *Search for Quotation*, 216-21. Sommer prefers to speak of "explicit citation," "implicit reference," and "inclusion," *Prophet Reads Scripture*, 20-22.

with additional interaction with the source text, provides grounds for asserting verbal dependence. An example from Chronicles is seen in the speech in 2 Chr 20:20 which includes the exhortation to Jehoshaphat, “trust in the LORD, your God, and you will endure, הֶאֱמִינוּ בַיהוָה אֱלֹהֵיכֶם וְתִאֲמְנוּ.” Here there is a play on the word אֱמַן which denotes both trust and the endurance that will result from trust. A similar play on the word is seen in Isa 7:9, addressed to Ahaz: “if you do not have trust you will not endure, אִם לֹא תִאֲמִינוּ כִּי לֹא תִאֲמְנוּ.”¹²⁹ In this case, the degree of verbal correspondence between the two texts is confined to the play on the word אֱמַן. The fact that one passage is stated in positive terms and the other negatively creates a greater proportion of verbal variation. However, this type of dissimilarity may actually strengthen the case for literary dependence since alteration is often an indication that purposeful reinterpretation has occurred between texts. Panc Beentjes suggests that modification of traditional material, such as is seen in 2 Chr 20:20, is a deliberate device to provoke attention in the hearers: “Within an existing formulation from tradition (a sentence, a colon, a set phrase, a rare or unique combination of words) an author sometimes reverses the sequence. By such a deviating model he attains a moment of extra attention in the listener or reader, because they hear or read something else than the traditional words.”¹³⁰ By reversing the negative statement in Isa 7:9 (אִם לֹא תִאֲמִינוּ), 2 Chr 20:20 highlights the faithfulness of Jehoshaphat in

¹²⁹ This translation which highlights the verbal correspondence between the two passages is borrowed from Fishbane, *Biblical Interpretation*, 387.

¹³⁰ Beentjes, "Historical Persons," 138. See also idem, "Discovering a New Path," 31-49; idem, "Isaiah in the Book of Chronicles," 21-23. For additional discussions of inversion and reversal as indications of deliberate re-interpretation of an antecedent text, see Moshe Seidel, "Parallels between Isaiah and Psalms," *Sinai* 38 (1955-56): 149-72, 229-40, 72-80, 335-55 (esp. 149-51); Sommer, *Prophet Reads Scripture*, 36-46; Lyons, *From Law to Prophecy*, 71.

contrast to the unbelief of Ahaz. In this case, knowledge of the prior text and its literary context illuminates the nature and purpose of the Chronicler's reuse.

This survey of some of the more prominent echoes of prophetic literature which scholars have identified in Chronicles reveals a wide variety of associative techniques. Similarities include both conventional and distinctive language and communicational strategies; parallels are both verbal and conceptual. It must be stressed that the linguistic, syntactical, and contextual evidence used to identify literary parallels within Scripture functions cumulatively.¹³¹ In the case of the Chronicler's literary dependence on prophetic literature, it is the *accumulation* of shared language, structure, themes, and motifs which suggests that genuine borrowing has occurred. While isolated incidences may not be persuasive, the great number of possibilities dispersed throughout the book of Chronicles strengthens the claim for influence from the Latter Prophets.

Motivations and Limitations of the Chronicler's Reuse of Biblical Texts

Because of the strong correlations between Chronicles and other biblical literature, recent scholarship is inclined to classify its genre in relation to the literature which helped to generate the book, using terms such as midrash,¹³² commentary,¹³³

¹³¹ This point is emphasized by Edenburg, "How (Not) to Murder a King," 72; Sommer, *Prophet Reads Scripture*, 5, 35, 72; Leonard, "Identifying Inner-Biblical Allusions," 253-55.

¹³² Early scholars who employed the term "midrash" to describe the Chronistic work include: Leopold Zunz, "Dibre hajamim oder Bücher der Chronik," in *Die gottesdienstlichen Vorträge der Juden, historisch entwickelt* (Berlin: Louis Lamm, 1832), 12-34; Julius Wellhausen, *Prolegomena to the History of Israel*, trans. John Sutherland Black and Allan Menzies (Edinburgh: A & C Black, 1885), 227; William Emery Barnes, "The Midrashic Element in Chronicles," *Expositor* 44, no. 4 (1896): 426-39. Elsewhere William Barnes likens Chronicles to targumic writing, see his "Chronicles as Targum," *ExpTim* 8 (1896-97): 316. More recent scholars are reticent to anachronistically equate Chronicles with midrash and prefer instead to speak of the Chronicler's method as "proto-midrash" or to define midrash broadly enough to include both rabbinic and Chronistic activities: Seeligmann, "Voraussetzungen der Midraschexegeese"; idem, "The Beginnings of Midrash in the Books of Chronicles," *Tarbiz* 49 (1980): 14-32; William Johnstone, *1 and 2 Chronicles. Volume 2. 2 Chronicles 10-36: Guilt and Atonement*, JSOTSup 254 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1997), 23.

revisionist history,¹³⁴ rewritten Bible,¹³⁵ and interpretation.¹³⁶ This observation that Chronicles is written in response to prior written accounts raises questions about the authority of the source texts utilized by the Chronicler and his reasons for incorporating them into his own composition. At the heart of these questions lies the issue of the development of the canon. Lack of consensus marks the discussion of the canonical status of the biblical material in relation to Chronicles, as illustrated by a few representative views. For example, scholars speculate about the canonical status of the Torah based on the Chronicler's use of that material in his own composition. Judson Shaver observes that the Chronicler harmonizes a wide range of pentateuchal traditions and from this concludes that "the exact content of the Torah canon was not yet fixed."¹³⁷ William Schniedewind, however, argues that the very presence of

¹³³ Willi, *Chronik als Auslegung*; 53-55; Brevard S. Childs, *Introduction to the Old Testament as Scripture* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1979), 652; Braun, *1 Chronicles*, xxiv; John H. Sailhamer, "1 Chronicles 21:1 -- A Study in Inter-Biblical Interpretation" *Trinity Journal* 10 (1989): 37.

¹³⁴ John Van Seters, *In Search of History: Historiography in the Ancient World and the Origins of Biblical History* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1983), 361-62; Betsy Halpern-Amaru, *Rewriting the Bible: Land and Covenant in Post-biblical Jewish Literature* (Valley Forge, Pennsylvania: Trinity Press International, 1994) 1-7; Roddy L. Braun, "1 Chronicles 1-9 and the Reconstruction of the History of Israel: Thoughts on the Use of Genealogical Data in Chronicles in the Reconstruction of the History of Israel," in *The Chronicler as Historian*, ed. McKenzie, et al., 92; Ron Bruner, "Harmony and Historiography: Genre as a Tool for Understanding the Differences between Samuel-Kings and Chronicles," *Restoration Quarterly* 46 (2004): 91-92; Sara Japhet, "Postexilic Historiography: How and Why?," in *From the Rivers of Babylon*, 307-330. Elsewhere John Van Seters describes Chronicles as "plagiarism," see his "Creative Imitation in the Hebrew Bible," *SR* 29, no. 4 (2000): 395-409.

¹³⁵ Again in this classification, Chronicles bears only slight resemblance to other literature classified as "rewritten Bible" such as *Genesis Apocryphon*, the *Temple Scroll*, and the *Reworked Pentateuch*. The classification as applied to Chronicles is therefore defined broadly. Halpern-Amaru, *Rewriting the Bible*, 1-7; Georg Steins, *Die Chronik als kanonisches Abschlussphaenomen: Studien zur Entstehung und Theologie von 1/2 Chronik*, BBB 93 (Weinheim: Beltz Athenaeum, 1995), 39; Klaas Smelik, "The Representation of King Ahaz in 2 Kings 16 and 2 Chronicles 28," in *Intertextuality in Ugarit and Israel*, ed. Johannes C. de Moor, OTS 40 (Leiden: Brill, 1998), 165; Tuell, *First and Second Chronicles*, 7; Pitre Brandt, "Rewritten Bible," in *The Westminster Dictionary of New Testament and Early Christian Literature and Rhetoric*, ed. David Edward Aune (Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 2003), 413-14; Knoppers, *1 Chronicles 10-29*; 129-34.

¹³⁶ William Franklin Stinespring, "Eschatology in Chronicles," *JBL* 80 (1961): 209-19; Rudolph Mosis, *Untersuchungen zur Theologie des chronistischen Geschichtswerkes*, Freiburger theologische Studien (Freiburg: Herder, 1973), John Goldingay, "The Chronicler as Theologian," *BTB* 5 (1975): 99-126; Richard James Coggins, *The First and Second Books of the Chronicles* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979), 5-6; Magne Sæbø, "Messianism in Chronicles?," *HBT* 2 (1980): 85-109; Joachim Becker, *1 Chronik*, NEB 18 (Würzburg: Echter Verlag, 1986), 6; Dillard, *2 Chronicles*, xviii-ix; Peter Ackroyd, *The Chronicler in His Age*, JSOTSup 101 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1991), 263, 276, 311; Johnstone, *1 and 2 Chronicles*, Vol. 2, 9-10, 23.

¹³⁷ Shaver, *Torah and the Chronicler's History*, 128.

harmonization presupposes that the collection was stabilized and canonical.¹³⁸ A similar debate surrounds the Chronicler's allusions to prophetic material. Gerhard von Rad noticed that the Chronicler was at great pains to properly cite his sources with regard to legal and historical material (e.g., using the citation formula "as it is written" in 2 Chr 23:18; 25:4; 30:5, 18; 31:3).¹³⁹ By contrast, the Chronicler freely uses passages from the Latter Prophets in the speeches without utilizing a citation formula which, according to von Rad, indicates a lack of reverence and esteem. He concludes that the Chronicler "does not regard these traditional works as being *in the strict sense* canonical."¹⁴⁰ By contrast, Hugh Williamson sees allusions and citations from the Latter Prophets in Chronicles as an indication that the prophetic literature had already achieved canonical status by the time of the Chronicler's work.¹⁴¹ The Chronicler's desire to reapply prophetic material in a new context goes hand-in-hand with its canonical status,¹⁴² and the absence of formal citations shows that the Chronicler is placing the prophetic literature on a level footing with other pre-exilic canonical literature.¹⁴³ These scholars share the affirmation that a broad spectrum of pre- and post-exilic literature functions *authoritatively* for the Chronicler and that he has woven prior literary material into his own account. Yet they reach opposite

¹³⁸ Schniedewind, *Word of God in Transition*, 133-34, n. 11. Similarly, see Talshir, "Several Canon-Related Concepts," 386-90.

¹³⁹ Von Rad, "The Levitical Sermon," 279.

¹⁴⁰ Ibid., 280, emphasis added. Stephen Chapman points out an inconsistency in von Rad's argumentation wherein he insists that the speeches contain literal "quotations" of previously existing written material. (He uses this term repeatedly. See p. 269, 70 (stated three times), 71, 72, 73 (twice), 74, 75 (four times), 76, 77, 78 (four times)). But he seems to back off from this point later when he wants to make the case that the material was not canonical because of the absence of the citation formula. He states, "These sermons do not deal in quotations *in the strictest sense of the term*...there is never any formula to indicate that a phrase is actually a quotation." Ibid, 279, emphasis added. Stephen B. Chapman, *The Law and the Prophets: a Study in Old Testament Canon Formation*, FAT 27 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2000), 225-26.

¹⁴¹ Williamson, *1 and 2 Chronicles*, 15; 274-75; 368. Elsewhere, however, Williamson suggests that the absence of the citation formula כְּכַתְּבוֹ with reference to the Latter Prophets indicates that they were not as authoritative as the Law (cf. 1 Chr 6:49; 15:13, 15; 16:40; 22:13; 2 Chr 23:18; 25:4; 30:16; 31:3; 34:14-15; 35:12, 26), "History," in *It is Written: Scripture Citing Scripture*, ed. D. A. Carson and Hugh Williamson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 25-38.

¹⁴² Williamson, *1 and 2 Chronicles*, 368; Chapman, *Law and Prophets*, 226-27.

¹⁴³ Williamson, *1 and 2 Chronicles*, 15.

conclusions about the implications of this phenomenon for the canonical status of the Torah and Latter Prophets.

It immediately becomes clear from this sample of views that the discussion is impeded by disagreement about what constitutes “canonical” status and in what way the evidence from Chronicles should be utilized in the determination of such status. “Canon” in modern discussions generally means either 1) authoritatively functioning traditions, or 2) a fixed and “closed” list of books.¹⁴⁴ When presented in this bifurcated way, the former sense clearly applies to the Chronicler’s biblical sources while the latter does not. However, a more fluid conception of the development of the canon presents these two aspects of canon as poles on a continuum of the canonization process.¹⁴⁵ In the book of Chronicles, there seems to be not only a growing sense of a corpus of literature which exerted significant influence on social and religious attitudes, but also an element of stability applied to the literature which constrains the Chronicler from eliminating or re-editing the pre-existing textual traditions. By reiterating antecedent material in a new literary context, the Chronicler contributes a new interpretation to the original texts, often radicalizing or broadening the application of their previous meaning; consequently, the recontextualization of pre-existing written material allows a later generation of readers or hearers of the text

¹⁴⁴ See, for example, Gerald T. Sheppard, “Canon,” in *Encyclopedia of Religion*, vol. 3 (New York: Macmillan, 1987), 64-66; James Barr, *Holy Scripture: Canon, Authority, Criticism* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1983), 75; Georg Steins, *Die "Bindung Isaaks" im Kanon (Gen 22): Grundlagen und Programm einer Kanonisch-Intertextuellen Lektüre*, HBS 20 (Freiburg: Herder, 1999); Fishbane, “Types of Biblical Intertextuality,” 39-44.

¹⁴⁵ This construal of the canonization process is akin to that proposed by Brevard Childs. In his system, the term “canonical” denotes the entire process of the text’s development: both the form given to the literature in the process of its composition, redaction, and transmission as well as the process by which that material was selected, collected, and ordered as authoritative Scripture. In other words, the literary history and canonical history of the text cannot be sharply distinguished; though each aspect involves different activities, they are both products of the same theological desire to render certain traditions authoritative for present and future generations. See his *Introduction to the Old Testament*, 57-62, and idem, “A Response,” *HBT* 2 (1980): 209-10.

to feel as if they are being addressed directly.¹⁴⁶ The suggestion that prior texts were incorporated into new texts because of an interest in retaining their interpretative significance illustrates a dialectical way of relating to that literature during the biblical era: both as a stable presence in the life of the community and as a relevant voice, able to be adapted and reapplied to changing circumstances.¹⁴⁷

Implicit in this understanding of the canonical process is a conception and anticipation of a collected scriptural legacy even at the early stages of composition. Stephen Chapman develops the repercussions of this thesis and suggests another aspect of the term “canon” which includes “an intertextual collection of Scriptures.”¹⁴⁸ Canon in this sense refers not to the authoritative or delimited *status* of a book, but to the way that it was composed, collected, and interpreted as one voice

¹⁴⁶ The re-application of antecedent texts into new literary contexts as a hermeneutical technique for extending the significance of an established text while also making it applicable in circumstances not anticipated by the text itself has come to be classified by scholars as “inner-biblical interpretation.” Among the more influential discussions of this phenomenon have been Bernhard Stade, “Deuteriosacharja: Eine kritische Studie,” *ZAW* 1/2 (1881-82): 1-96, 151-72; Seeligmann, “Voraussetzungen der Midraschexegese”; Renée Bloch, “Midrash,” in *DBSup* 5 (1955), 163-81; idem, “Note methodologique pour l’étude de la littérature rabbinique,” *RSR* 43 (1955): 194-227 [Both essays have been translated into English by Mary H. Callaway and William Scott Green in William Scott Green, ed., *Approaches to Ancient Judaism*, BJS 1 (Missoula, Montana: Scholars Press, 1978). 29-50, 51-76]; Geza Vermes, “Bible and Midrash: Early Old Testament Exegesis,” in *The Cambridge History of the Bible. I. From the Beginnings to Jerome*, ed. Peter Ackroyd and Christopher Evans (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970), 199-231; F. F. Bruce, “The Earliest Old Testament Interpretation,” *OTS* 17 (1972): 37-52; Fishbane, *Biblical Interpretation*; Peter Ackroyd, “The Vitality of the Word of God in the Old Testament: A Contribution to the Study of the Transmission and Exposition of Old Testament Material,” in *Studies in the Religious Tradition of the Old Testament* (London: SCM Press, 1987), 61-75; Yair Zakovitch, *An Introduction to Inner-Biblical Interpretation* (Evan Yehudah: Rekhes, 1992), 1829-35; Benjamin D. Sommer, “Inner-biblical Interpretation,” in *The Jewish Study Bible*, ed. Adele Berlin and Marc Zvi Brettler (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004); Bernard Levinson, *Legal Revision and Religious Renewal in Ancient Israel* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008).

¹⁴⁷ For thorough treatments of this phenomenon in biblical literature, see Simon Rawidowicz, “On Interpretation,” *PAAJR* 26 (1957): 83-126; Nahum Sarna, “Psalm 89: A Study in Inner Biblical Exegesis,” in *Biblical and Other Studies*, ed. Alexander Altmann (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1963), 29-46; James A. Sanders, *Torah and Canon* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1972); Jacob Weingreen, *From Bible to Mishna: The Continuity of Tradition* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1976); James A. Sanders, “Biblical Criticism and the Bible as Canon,” *USQR* 32, no. 3 & 4 (1977): 157-65; James Kugel, “Early Interpretation: The Common Background of Late Forms of Biblical Exegesis,” in *Early Biblical Interpretation*, ed. James Kugel and Rowan Greer (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1986), 9-106; Levinson, *Legal Revision and Religious Renewal*.

¹⁴⁸ Stephen B. Chapman, “How the Biblical Canon Began: Working Models and Open Questions,” in *Homer, the Bible, and Beyond: Literary and Religious Canons in the Ancient World*, ed. Margalit Finkelberg and Guy G. Stroumsa, *Jerusalem Studies in Religion and Culture* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2003), 38. Chapman documents his dependence on Sheppard who speaks of canon as “a common intertext of Scripture” in *The Future of the Bible: Beyond Liberalism and Literalism* (United Church of Canada: United Church Publishing, 1990), 16.

within a range of witnesses.¹⁴⁹ A similar conception of the inter-relationship created by an authoritative collection of texts is expressed by Michael Fishbane in his description of the “canonical imagination.” He states that “a canon (of whatever sort) presupposes the possibility of correlations among its parts, and that new texts may imbed, reuse, or otherwise allude to precursor materials – both as a strategy for meaning-making, and for establishing the authority of a given innovation.”¹⁵⁰

This understanding of the canon as an emerging anthology of inter-related literature has repercussions for an examination of the book of Chronicles. It accepts that the structural features within the book which connect it to other literature are indicators of a conceptual awareness of canon in the anthological sense. Chronicles witnesses to the internal growth of the scriptural collection, or, in Chapman’s words to “the literary influence of the growing collection upon *itself*.”¹⁵¹ Chronicles establishes new intertextual possibilities for the existing anthology by recontextualizing prior traditions and consequently repositioning the component parts of the literary corpus.

An implication of this understanding of the canon’s development is that the Chronicler’s handling of antecedent texts was compelled by a desire to emphasize the harmony inherent in the material and align his own composition with the profile of the received textual traditions. By emphasizing this aspect of the composition of Chronicles, I do not intend to downplay the significant alterations, additions, and omissions present in the Chronicler’s account but to emphasize that a fundamental conception of the “omni-coherence of Scripture” was operational in the re-working of

¹⁴⁹ Chapman, “How the Biblical Canon Began,” 38.

¹⁵⁰ Fishbane, “Types of Biblical Intertextuality,” 39. This is also emphasized by Joachim Schaper, “Rereading the Law: Inner-Biblical Exegesis of Divine Oracles in Ezekiel 44 and Isaiah 56,” in *Recht und Ethik im Alten Testament*, ed. Bernard M. Levinson and Eckart Otto, Altes Testament und Moderne (Münster: LIT-Verlag, 2004), 125-44, and Gerald T. Sheppard, “Canonization: Hearing the Voice of the Same God through Historically Dissimilar Traditions,” *Int* 36 (1982): 21-33.

¹⁵¹ Chapman, “How the Biblical Canon Began,” 37.

the material.¹⁵² For this reason, the counsel of Joachim Schaper is fitting: “It is a good thing, therefore, to keep in mind in our analysis of biblical texts that they were subjected to the work of redactors (and authors) whose understanding of revelation and, therefore, whose work with and on authoritative texts was governed by said concept of the ‘omni-coherence of scripture.’”¹⁵³ Accordingly, the Chronicler perceived a fundamental harmony between the textual traditions and a consistency in the way those traditions related to the past, present, and future. Therefore, in the Chronicler’s own handling of his authoritative sources he is constrained by the way the material had been shaped by the past community’s theological and exegetical norms.¹⁵⁴ The Chronicler’s interpretive role is not one of bringing a foreign sense to the text but of revealing a sense which is already present in the text. In his own interpretation and integration of antecedent texts, the Chronicler demonstrates that his new composition stands in continuity with the past. The ensuing investigation will

¹⁵² The expression “omni-coherence of Scripture” comes from Fishbane, “Types of Biblical Intertextuality,” 43, and Schaper, “Rereading the Law,” 141-42. A similar view of the text governed rabbinic, New Testament, and pre-critical Christian exegesis of the Hebrew Bible as well as the Septuagint translation. See Schaper, “Rereading the Law,” 142. For an alternate view that Chronicles is “einer Zusammenführung und Fokussierung verschiedener Traditionsstränge,” see Georg Steins, “Torabindung und Kanonabschluß: zur Entstehung und kanonischen Funktion der Chronikbücher,” in *Die Tora als Kanon für Juden und Christen*, ed. Erich Zenger, HBS 10 (Freiburg: Herder, 1996), 213-56. On analogy, Levinson sees Deuteronomy’s revision of the Covenant Code as challenging, reversing, and abrogating the content of the source text, *Deuteronomy and the Hermeneutics of Legal Innovation* (New York, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), 15-16; 144-57. See also, Sommer, *Prophet Reads Scripture*, 27-28; Jeffrey Stackert, *Rewriting the Torah: Literary Revision in Deuteronomy and the Holiness Legislation*, FAT 52 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2007), 209-25. Compare the responses by Eckart Otto that Deuteronomy was intended to supplement the Covenant Code, “Biblische Rechtsgeschichte als Fortschreibungsgeschichte,” *BO* 56 (1999): 5-14, also Hindy Najman, *Seconding Sinai: The Development of Mosaic Discourse in Second Temple Judaism* (Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2003).

¹⁵³ Schaper, “Rereading the Law,” 142. In a similar vein, Childs describes the Chronicler’s handling of the textual traditions in this way: “On the basis of a close study of the tradition the Chronicler sought to explore the outer limits which the text allowed in order to reconcile the differences. His method permitted him great creativity only within certain boundaries which he could justify from the received tradition. It is precisely this tension, indigenous to the Chronicler’s method, which explains his oscillation between freedom and constraint,” *Introduction to the Old Testament*, 648-49, see also 55. On this issue, Marc Zvi Brettler adopts a similar position: “The Chronicler was most likely not writing a history to replace Samuel and Kings, but desired to reshape the way in which these books would be read and remembered...He attempted to supplement them,” *The Creation of History in Ancient Israel*, 22.

¹⁵⁴ This aspect of textual reuse is discussed by Fishbane, *Biblical Interpretation*, 435; Willey, *Remember the Former Things*, 70.

attempt to highlight this aspect of the Chronicler's handling of Kings, Isaiah, and Jeremiah.

Methodological Considerations

The above analysis has examined the relationship between Chronicles and Samuel-Kings, Isaiah, and Jeremiah in order to provide a foundation for the examination of the three-fold Hezekiah narrative and account of the fall of Judah. By defending the probability of the Chronicler's literary dependence on antecedent biblical texts, the discussion has, by necessity, focused on diachronic questions of the form and content of the Chronicler's source material, the techniques used by the Chronicler to integrate pre-existing material into his composition, and what the Chronicler's use of sources reveals about his purpose in creating a new account of Judah's history. This diachronic focus will continue to surface in the ensuing examination of the Hezekiah narrative and the account of the fall of Jerusalem on two levels: both *within* each book and *between* the books under consideration. In chapter 2, the development of the Hezekiah narrative into a composite account will be discussed. This issue is closely associated with the dating of and reasons for the insertion of the Hezekiah complex into the books of Kings and Isaiah and the direction of influence between the two corpuses. Similarly, chapter 4 will trace the growth of the account of the fall of Judah, its placement in Kings and Jeremiah, and the relationship between those two books which resulted in the reiteration of that material in both contexts. Chapters 3 and 5, respectively, will explore the subsequent reiteration of the Hezekiah narrative and the account of the fall of Jerusalem in the book of Chronicles, paying particular attention to the ways that *both* Samuel-Kings and the Latter Prophets exerted influence on the Chronicler's handling of the textual traditions.

An additional aspect of the diachronic analysis of these narratives is consideration of the historical factors which motivated the reiteration of the material. The disillusionment which characterized the Persian era with regard to the shape of the restoration described by the Latter Prophets provides the historical context for the composition of Chronicles. It will be shown that, by reiterating Judah's history in a way that retains correspondence to the tradition as recorded in Samuel-Kings, and at the same time infusing it with quotations and allusions to material from Isaiah and Jeremiah, the Chronicler demonstrates the continued vitality of the nation's history and literary legacy.

Naturally, there are limitations to our ability to reconstruct the historical factors and development of these narratives within and between books. As has already been discussed, the precise textual forms of the sources used by the Chronicler are uncertain. For this reason, an analysis of Chronicles vis-à-vis Samuel-Kings, Isaiah, and Jeremiah through the lens of inner-biblical exegesis would lay an imprudent emphasis on subtle lexical changes which may merely be the result of a non-extant textual *Vorlage* rather than conscious reinterpretation. Furthermore, though majority views on the dating of these passages indicate the probability that the relevant material in Samuel-Kings, Isaiah, and Jeremiah preceded the book of Chronicles, it has also been shown that the complex redactional shaping of the literature leaves many issues related to the relative chronology of the material unresolved. If, as argued by some, the books of Samuel-Kings, Isaiah, and Jeremiah received editorial emendation into the post-exilic era, then the literary overlap between the books and with Chronicles may be the result of contemporaneous composition and redaction, carried out by a shared editor or school. If this is the case, the contribution of an analysis which depends wholly on a linear historical reconstruction would be lost. In

fact, the primary goal of this examination is not the literary relationship between Samuel-Kings, Isaiah, Jeremiah, and Chronicles (who quoted whom? when? and why?), but the way in which the passages in Chronicles interact with those from Samuel-Kings, Isaiah, and Jeremiah. Approaching the text *as text* opens a window into the “depth dimension” achieved through redaction and literary dependence.

Interest in how the narratives function within each literary context and the effect of the reiteration of the material in Chronicles stresses the synchronic, or canonical, dimension at work in the investigation.¹⁵⁵ As with the diachronic analysis outlined above, canonical questions also focus on the function of the narratives *within* and *between* books.¹⁵⁶ The first aspect deals with the structure of each book and how it affects the meaning of the relevant narratives.¹⁵⁷ This involves examination of internal features of literary contextualization, selection and arrangement of the segments of the narrative, and verbal and thematic patterns which all combine to provide indicators of the discrete emphasis which has been attributed to the material.

Building on this, examination of the relationship *between* books contrasts the ways the narratives function in each literary context. An important aspect of this comparative analysis will be to discern the relationship between the larger blocks of

¹⁵⁵ Though it is helpful, for the sake of clarity, to differentiate between diachronic and synchronic considerations in the handling of the texts, they are, in practice, complimentary. The two types of questions are necessary for a holistic interpretation and the interpreter is continually moving between the two types of questions. The importance of both diachronic and synchronic approaches in the examination of textual reuse is discussed in Johannes C. De Moor, ed., *Synchronic or Diachronic? A Debate on Method in Old Testament Exegesis*, OTS 34 (Leiden, New York: Brill, 1995); Levinson, *Deuteronomy 6-10, 26-27*; Schultz, *Search for Quotation*, 227-39; Serge Frolov, *The Turn of the Cycle: 1 Samuel 1-8 in Synchronic and Diachronic Perspectives*, BZAW 342 (Berlin, New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2004); Eckart Otto, "The Pentateuch in Synchronical and Diachronical Perspective: Protorabbinic Scribal Erudition Mediating between Deuteronomy and the Priestly Code," in *Das Deuteronomium zwischen Pentateuch und Deuteronomistischen Geschichtswerk*, ed. Eckart Otto and Reinhard Achenbach, FRLANT 206 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2004), 14-35; Schaper, "Rereading the Law."

¹⁵⁶ Donn Morgan refers to these two applications of canonical exegesis as “micro-canonical” and “macro-canonical,” “Canon and Criticism: Method or Madness,” *ATR* 68 (1986): 87.

¹⁵⁷ On this level of investigation there is overlap between a canonical approach and more recent redaction- and tradition-criticisms. See Brevard S. Childs, "The Exegetical Significance of Canon for the Study of the Old Testament," in *Congress Volume, Göttingen 1977*, eds. J. A. Emerton, et al., VTSup 29 (Leiden: Brill, 1978), 66-80; idem, *Introduction to the Old Testament*, 79.

material within the canon: how Samuel-Kings relates to Isaiah and Jeremiah and how both relate to Chronicles. Examination of the inner cross-referencing between the books will highlight both the theological consistency connecting the different textual traditions as well as the capacity for material to be altered, augmented, and reoriented to render it relevant to a later generation of readers. The book of Chronicles reflects the author's apparent intention to write in terms recognizable from the community's established collection of revered literature. His explicit repetition of texts indicates the continuity which he perceived between Judah's literary heritage and his own composition. At the same time, his recontextualization and juxtaposition of material from a diversity of sources underscores the potential for those texts to receive fresh interpretive significance. In the following chapters, it will be shown how the Chronicler's application of allusion and quotation evokes the hopes associated with the vision of a future restoration expressed in the Latter Prophets.

PART I

THE HEZEKIAH NARRATIVE:

2 KINGS 18-20; ISAIAH 36-39; 2 CHRONICLES 29-32

Chapter 2

THE HEZEKIAH NARRATIVE IN 2 KINGS 18-20 AND ISAIAH 36-39

The frequency of reference in the Hebrew Bible to the figure of Hezekiah and the events which occurred during his reign points to the theological significance of that tradition. Three narrative blocks featuring Hezekiah's reign – 2 Kgs 18-20; Isa 36-39; and 2 Chr 29-32 – witness to the capacity of the material to assume new significance in diverse literary contexts. The degree of textual and structural similarity between each account indicates literary dependence between each reiteration of the tradition, while the variations in each telling and the placement of the material in distinct literary contexts provide a window into the way the material has been used to address specific concerns. This analysis of the Hezekiah narrative in chapters 2 and 3 will investigate the issue of literary dependence between the three biblical accounts in order to discern how literary shaping and recontextualization transform the meaning of the text. The objective of the examination is to demonstrate that the Chronistic account of Hezekiah integrates distinct theologies and literary features of both 2 Kings and Isaiah. To this end, the present chapter will consider the compositional relationship between 2 Kings and Isaiah and the theological significance of the Hezekiah narrative in those literary contexts. In the following chapter, the portrayal of

Hezekiah in Chronicles and the indications of influence from both 2 Kings and Isaiah will be discussed.

Comparison of the Hezekiah Narratives in 2 Kings and Isaiah

The accounts of Hezekiah in 2 Kings and Isaiah are almost identical, indicating some form of literary dependence between the versions.¹ In both biblical accounts of Hezekiah, God's deliverance is portrayed in three scenes: Assyria's threatened invasion of Jerusalem; Hezekiah's illness and recovery; and the visit from the Babylonian envoys. The distinctive features between 2 Kgs 18-20 and Isa 36-39 are few but significant. These include the presence of non-synoptic introductory and concluding material that frames the narrative in 2 Kings 18:1-8; 20:20-21,² notice of Samaria's collapse in 2 Kgs 18:9-12; and the depiction of Hezekiah's initial capitulation to Sennacherib in 2 Kgs 18:14-16. In contrast, the only significant plus in Isaiah is a lengthy prayer by Hezekiah in Isa 39:9-20 after his illness. As a result of this inclusion in the book of Isaiah, the prophet's command for a healing remedy and Hezekiah's request for a sign are situated at the end of the scene (Isa 38:21-22) rather than in the middle, as is the case in the 2 Kings version (2 Kgs 20:7-8). In the

¹ It is, of course, possible that a shared source stands behind the repeated narrative in 2 Kings and Isaiah. Raymond Person mentions this possibility in passing, *Deuteronomistic History*, 172. In an earlier work, however, Person examines the passages on the basis of linear redaction, *The Kings-Isaiah and Kings-Jeremiah Recensions*, BZAW 252 (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1997). The theory of a direct linear relationship between 2 Kgs 18-20 and Isa 36-39 remains the scholarly consensus. Indeed, the following discussion of the textual and formal links between the Hezekiah narrative and the wider context of each book, particularly Isaiah, indirectly supports this conclusion.

² The DtrH employs formulaic frames to introduce and conclude most of the narratives depicting the reigns of the kings of Judah and Israel. These introductory statements typically follow a standard structure, providing information about the age of the king at his ascension, the length of his reign, the name of the queen mother, and genealogical information. In addition, the report includes an evaluative judgment about the king, whether he has done good or evil in the eyes of the LORD, which is usually closely associated with a statement regarding the king's fidelity to or profanation of the cult. The concluding statement generally provides a summary of the king's reign and details of the next king's succession to the throne. For comparison of the occurrences of these regnal resumes in the DtrH and how they influence the interpretation of the Hezekiah narrative, see Ingrid Hjelm, *Jerusalem's Rise to Sovereignty: Zion and Gerizim in Competition*, JSOTSup 404 (London, New York: T & T Clark, 2004), 48-65.

following table which provides a synopsis of the two accounts, these segments which only occur in one of the versions are indicated with grey shading. Also highlighted in the table is the fact that the action of each scene of the Hezekiah narrative is carried by dialogue (indicated in italics), primarily between Hezekiah and Isaiah, but also between representatives from Assyria and Jerusalem in the first scene. In each case, the dialogue is structured around a series of three speech and response cycles. The theological significance of these speeches and the way they provide structure to the narrative will factor into the discussion to follow.

Figure 2.1: Comparison of the Hezekiah Narratives in 2 Kings and Isaiah

	<u>2 Kings</u>	<u>Isaiah</u>
Introductory report: description of cultic reforms, political pursuits, and a positive evaluation	18:1-8	
Samaria's collapse at the hands of Assyria	18:9-12	
Assyria's invasion of Judah introduced	18:13	36:1
Hezekiah's capitulation to Sennacherib	18:14-16	
<u>Scene 1: Assyria's attempted invasion of Jerusalem:</u>	<u>18:17-19:37</u>	<u>36:2-37:38</u>
Description of the setting	18:17-18	36:2-3
1. <i>First speech:</i> the Rabshakeh to Eliakim, Shebnah, and Joah	18:19-25	36:4-10
<i>Response:</i> of Eliakim, Shebnah, and Joah to the Rabshakeh	18:26	36:11
2. <i>Second speech:</i> the Rabshakeh to the inhabitants of Jerusalem	18:27-35	36:12-20
<i>Response:</i> of the inhabitants of Jerusalem; of Eliakim, Shebnah, and Joah;	18:36	36:21
of Hezekiah	18:37	36:22
<i>Hezekiah's appeal:</i> to Isaiah	19:1-2	37:1-2
<i>Isaiah's first oracle:</i> promise of salvation	19:3-4	37:3-4
the Rabshakeh leaves	19:5-7	37:5-7
3. <i>Third speech:</i> Sennacherib to Hezekiah in the form of a letter	19:8-9a	37:8-9a
<i>Hezekiah's appeal:</i> prayer to the LORD	19:9b-13	37:9b-13
<i>Isaiah's second oracle:</i> promise of salvation	19:14-19	37:14-20
Assyria's miraculous defeat	19:20-34	37:21-35
	19:35-37	37:36-38
<u>Scene 2: Hezekiah's illness and recovery</u>	<u>20:1-11</u>	<u>38:1-22</u>
1. <i>Isaiah's first oracle:</i> pronouncement of Hezekiah's death	20:1	38:1
<i>Hezekiah's response:</i> prayer of entreaty	20:2-3	38:2-3
2. <i>Isaiah's second oracle:</i> promise of salvation and command for a healing remedy	20:4-6	38:4-6
<i>Hezekiah's response:</i> request for a sign	20:7	(cf. 38:21)
(3.) <i>Isaiah's third oracle:</i> offer of a sign	20:8	(cf. 38:22)
<i>Hezekiah's response:</i> request for a sign	20:9	38:7-8a
A sign is given	20:10	
<i>Hezekiah's response:</i> prayer of thanks	20:11	38:8ba
(3.) <i>Isaiah's third oracle:</i> command for a healing remedy		38:9-20
<i>Hezekiah's response:</i> request for a sign		38:21
		38:22
<u>Scene 3: Visit from the Babylonian envoys</u>	<u>20:12-19</u>	<u>39:1-8</u>
Hezekiah's reception of the envoys	20:12-13	39:1-2
1. <i>Isaiah's inquiry</i>	20:14a	39:3a
<i>Hezekiah's response</i>	20:14b	39:3b
2. <i>Isaiah's inquiry</i>	20:15a	39:4a
<i>Hezekiah's response</i>	20:15b	39:4b
3. <i>Isaiah's oracle:</i> pronouncement of future Babylonian invasion	20:16-18	39:5-7
<i>Hezekiah's response</i>	20:19	39:8
Concluding report to the reign of Hezekiah	20:20-21	

Several scholars speculate that the stories that make up the Hezekiah narrative circulated as three distinct traditions which were redacted into a single, congruent account for the purpose of their insertion into 2 Kings or Isaiah.³ Nevertheless, the structure of three speech-response cycles in each of the three scenes of the narrative, points toward the editorial shaping of the composite account. Likewise, temporal indicators linking each scene exert an element of cohesion. While the first scene is introduced with the notice that the Assyrians attempted to invade Jerusalem “In the fourteenth year of King Hezekiah” (2 Kgs 18:13//Isa 36:1), the account of Hezekiah’s illness and recovery occurs “In those days” (2 Kgs 20:1//Isa 38:1) and the visit from the Babylonian envoys is “At that time” (2 Kgs 20:12//Isa 39:1).⁴ Most importantly, thematic parallels between each scene reinforce the theological function of the narrative: in each scene, a potential threat is introduced but at the height of the dramatic tension, the prophet Isaiah delivers an oracle.

While these structural patterns are consistently adhered to in both the 2 Kings and Isaiah versions of the narrative, they are also disrupted by the plusses in each literary corpus. In 2 Kings, the introductory report (2 Kgs 18:1-8), notice of Samaria’s collapse (2 Kgs 18:9-12), depiction of Hezekiah’s capitulation (2 Kgs 18:14-16), and concluding report (2 Kgs 20:20-21) fall outside of the borders of the three analogous scenes. Likewise, the inclusion of the non-synoptic prayer in Isa 38:9-20 and alternate placement of verses 21-22 impose a different speech-response structure in which

³ See, Walter Deitrich, *Prophetie und Geschichte*, FRLANT 108 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1972), 138; Ronald E. Clements, *Isaiah and the Deliverance of Jerusalem: A Study of the Interpretation of Prophecy in the Old Testament*, JSOTSup 13 (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1980), 52-53, 63-71, 102-104; idem, "Isaiah Narrative of 2 Kings 20:12-19 and the Date of the Deuteronomic History," in *Essays on the Bible and the Ancient World*, Vol. 3, ed. Alexander Rofé and Yair Zakovitch (Jerusalem: E. Rubinstein’s Publishing House, 1983), 209-20; Ackroyd, "An Interpretation of the Babylonian Exile: A Study of II Kings 20; Isaiah 38-39," in *Studies in the Religious Tradition*, 152-71, 285, n. 33.

⁴ As a result of these temporal indicators, the pace of the narrative slows down significantly in the description of the Assyrian assault, Hezekiah’s illness, and the visit from the Babylonian envoys. According to the literary presentation, all of these events depicted in 2 Kgs 18:13-20:19; Isa 36:1-39:8 occurred in Hezekiah’s fourteenth year.

Isaiah's promise of salvation (Isa 38:4-6) and offer of a sign (Isa 38:7-8a) – the speeches of the second and third dialogue cycles in 2 Kings – are combined as the second speech to which Hezekiah's lengthy prayer (Isa 38:9-20) is the response. Thus, Isaiah's command for a healing remedy (Isa 38:21) and Hezekiah's request for a sign (Isa 38:22) provide the content of a third succinct speech-response cycle. These variations between the accounts, on the one hand, provide important clues about the function of the narratives in each literary context and will therefore be an important aspect in the investigation to follow. On the other hand, the differences between 2 Kgs 18-20 and Isa 36-39 raise issues about literary dependence between the accounts and which version was historically prior (i.e., in which case were the differences *additions* and in which case *omissions*?). In a brief examination of the direction of influence between 2 Kings 18-20 and Isaiah 36-39, I will argue that the Isaiah version of the Hezekiah narrative preceded that of 2 Kings; the degree of literary association between the narrative and the wider context of Isaiah strongly suggests that book as the earlier provenance of the cohesive account which was subsequently transferred to 2 Kings.

The Direction of Influence between 2 Kings and Isaiah

As early as Wilhelm Gesenius in the nineteenth century, the affinity in prose style between the Hezekiah narrative and the bulk of the book of Kings generated the judgment that the composition was originally a component of that book.⁵ Within the

⁵ Friedrich Heinrich Wilhelm Gesenius, *Commentar über den Jesaia* (Leipzig: Friedrich Christian Wilhelm Vogel, 1821), 2.932-36. Gesenius found additional support for this thesis in a text-critical examination of the Hebrew of 2 Kgs 18-20 and Isa 36-39 which revealed that Isaiah's version is shorter (exempting the added prayer of Hezekiah in Isaiah 38) and reflects, in his estimation, conscious omission of superfluous and awkward material. Subsequent text-critical examinations which include analysis of LXX material have overturned this argument and have revealed that at times Isaiah has the preferred reading. See the discussion by Brevard S. Childs, *Isaiah and the Assyrian Crisis*, SBT (London: SCM, 1967), 137-40.

wider context of the DtrH, several linguistic features of the material are deemed by scholars to be Deuteronomistic, especially reference to God as a “living God” in 2 Kgs 19:4, 16 (cf. Josh 3:10; 1 Sam 17:26, 36); idols as “works of human hands, wood and stone” in 2 Kgs 19:18 (cf. the exact parallel in Deut 4:28); and God’s preservation of Jerusalem “for the sake of my servant David” in 2 Kgs 19:34 and 20:6 (cf. 1 Kgs 11:12, 13, 32, 34; 2 Kgs 8:19).⁶ In addition, the reference to Hezekiah’s removal of the high places and altars in the speech of the Rabshakeh (2 Kgs 18:22//Isa 36:7) finds an association with the account of Hezekiah’s reforms which is narrated in 2 Kgs 18:4 but is lacking in Isaiah. Likewise, 2 Kgs 18:13 (“Hezekiah’s fourteenth year”) and 2 Kgs 20:6 (“fifteen more years”) are coordinated with the preceding notice in 2 Kgs 18:2 that Hezekiah reigned for twenty-nine years. Finally, it is assumed by many that the non-synoptic notice of Hezekiah’s capitulation to Sennacherib in 2 Kgs 18:14-16 must be an *omission* from Isaiah (and 2 Chronicles) rather than an *addition* to 2 Kings based on its uncomplimentary portrayal of Hezekiah and its disruptive literary quality.⁷

In contrast to the view that the Hezekiah narrative was initially located in 2 Kings and secondarily transferred to Isaiah, a more recent minority thesis contends

⁶ Weinfeld, *Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomistic School*, 32-45, 79, 324; David M. Carr, “What Can We Say about the Tradition History of Isaiah? A Response to Christopher Seitz’s *Zion’s Final Destiny*,” in *SBL 1992 Seminar Papers*, ed. Eugene H. Lovering, Jr., SBLSP 31 (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1992), 583-97 (594).

⁷ As initially argued by Gesenius, *Commentar über den Jesaja*, 937-38. The perseverance of the thesis that because of the presence of 18:14-16, 2 Kings represents an earlier form of the Hezekiah narrative can be attributed to two factors. The first is the contention that 2 Kgs 18:14-16 is a more historically accurate account of the events of 701 BCE based on certain agreement with Assyrian annals. See Bernhard Stade, “Miscellen: Anmerkungen zu 2 Kö. 15-21,” *ZAW* 6 (1886): 152-92 (172, 180-82). A second factor is the assumption that subsequent modifications of the Hezekiah narrative tend toward a legendary idealization of Hezekiah, as observed in Isaiah, 2 Chronicles, Ben Sira, and rabbinic literature, which accounts for the omission of 2 Kgs 18:14-16 in each of these subsequent texts. Ackroyd, “Interpretation of the Babylonian Exile,” 164, 170-71, 285, n. 36; Marvin A. Sweeney, *Isaiah 1-4 and the Post-Exilic Understanding of the Isaianic Tradition*, BZAW 171 (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1988), 13-16. For challenges to both these assumptions, see Seitz, *Zion’s Final Destiny*, 48-61, 155-59. Moreover, the contention that Isaiah represents an abbreviated form of the narrative goes against the typical mode of viewing *expansion* as an indicator of textual modification, as pointed out by Albert T. Olmstead, “The Earliest Book of Kings,” *AJSL* 31 (1915): 169-214 (196).

that the material was composed primarily for the book of Isaiah.⁸ Arguing against the assumption that the Hezekiah material corresponds more closely to the style and overall purpose of 2 Kings, the relative absence of material and figures from the Latter Prophets within the narrative of Kings makes the prophet Isaiah's appearance in the Hezekiah narrative a conspicuous deviation from the norm. The persuasiveness of this view is demonstrated by the fact that most elements within the narrative which create textual links to the book of Isaiah appear in *synoptic* portions, while *non-synoptic* parts of the account share linguistic features with the wider DtrH. For example, several motifs link the narrative to the wider book of Isaiah but do not exist as prominent themes in the book of 2 Kings. These include the giving of a "sign" (Isa 37:30//2Kgs 19:29; Isa 38:7//2 Kgs 20:9; Isa 38:22//2 Kgs 20:8; cf. Isa 7:11-14; 8:18; 19:20; 20:3; 44:25; 55:13; 66:19), the concept of a remnant (Isa 37:4//2 Kgs 19:4; cf. Isa 1:8-9; 4:3; 6:13; 7:22; 10:20-22; 11:11, 16; 28:5); the futility of allying with Egypt for protection (Isa 36:6-9//2 Kgs 18:21-24; cf. Isa 30:1-7; 31:1-3); and the setting of the "conduit of the upper pool on the highway to the Washer's Field" (Isa 36:2//2 Kgs 18:17; cf. Isa 7:3).⁹ Furthermore, the contrast drawn between Ahaz (Isa 6-9) and

⁸ Klaas Smelik, "Distortion of Old Testament Prophecy: The Purpose of Isaiah xxvi and xxvii," in *Crises and Perspectives: Studies in Ancient Near Eastern Polytheism*, ed. Johannes C. de Moor, OTS 24 (Leiden: Brill, 1989), 70-93 (71-74); Antti Laato, "Hezekiah and the Assyrian Crisis in 701 B.C.," *SJOT* 1, no. 2 (1987): 49-68; idem, *About Zion I Will Not Be Silent: The Book of Isaiah as an Ideological Unity*, ConBOT 44 (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1998); Seitz, *Zion's Final Destiny*, 187-88; Hjelm, *Jerusalem's Rise*, 100-15. Still others argue that the suitability of the material for the contexts of both 2 Kings and Isaiah indicates mutual dependence on a shared source, the original composition of the material for placement in both contexts, or redaction of both books by a single school. See Alfred Jepsen, *Die Quellen des Königsbuches* (Halle: M. Niemeyer, 1956), 77; Joseph W. Groves, *Actualization and Interpretation in the Old Testament*, SBLDS 86 (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1987), 197, n. 51; August H. Konkel, "The Sources of the Story of Hezekiah in the book of Isaiah," *VT* 43 (1993): 462-82; Hugh G. M. Williamson, *The Book Called Isaiah: Deutero-Isaiah's Role in Composition and Redaction* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994), 194, cf. 209; idem, "The Messianic Texts in Isaiah 1-39," in *King and Messiah in Israel and the Ancient Near East*, ed. John Day, JSOTSup 270 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1998), 238-70 (249). However, the fact of the narrative's literary and theological suitability in both books need not mitigate against the priority of one context but instead points to the adaptability of the textual tradition for use in diverse literary frameworks.

⁹ These literary links are emphasized in the studies by Roy Melugin, *The Formation of Isaiah 40-55*, BZAW 141 (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1976), 178; Ackroyd, "Isaiah 36-39: Structure and

Hezekiah (Isa 36-39) is more pronounced in the Isaiah presentation than in 2 Kings, as will be discussed in more detail below. Linguistic features of the narrative which are characteristically Isaianic include the expression “Holy One of Israel” (Isa 37:23//2 Kgs 19:22)¹⁰ and בִּטַח, “trust” (Isa 36:4, 5, 6 twice, 7, 9, 15//2 Kgs 18:19, 20, 21 twice, 22, 24, 30; Isa 37:10//2 Kgs 19:10).¹¹ Prior mention of Shebna and Eliakim in Isa 22:15-25 also provides a link between the Hezekiah narrative and the book of Isaiah (cf. Isa 36:3, 11, 22//2 Kgs 18:18, 26, 37; Isa 37:2//2 Kgs 19:2).¹² Finally, the parallel style of Isaiah’s oracles in Isa 10:8-11 and Isa 37:23-25//2 Kgs 19:22-24 which use a series of questions to expose the imprudent arrogance of the king of Assyria, provides an additional form-critical correspondence between the Hezekiah narrative and the wider context of Isaiah.¹³ In each case, these linguistic, thematic, and formal connections which link the narrative to the book of Isaiah are replicated in the 2 Kings version of the narrative but without the corresponding associations to the wider book of Kings.

In contrast to the Isaianic elements which appear in both the Isaiah and 2 Kings versions of the narrative, components which link the narrative exclusively to the book of 2 Kings generally occur in non-synoptic portions. The regnal introduction

Function,” in *Studies in the Religious Tradition*, 105-20 (117-20); Groves, *Actualization and Interpretation*, 197; Smelik, “Distortion of Prophecy,” 71-74; Hjelm, *Jerusalem’s Rise*, 100-15.

¹⁰ The expression occurs twenty-two times in Isaiah, whereas its only occurrence in the DtrH is in this synoptic section of the Hezekiah narrative; cf. also Jer 50:29; 51:5; Psalm 71:22; 78:41; 89:18 [19 EV]. See also the discussions by Franz Delitzsch, *Commentary on Isaiah*, Vol. 2 (Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1892), 126-28; Hans Wildberger, *Isaiah 1-12: A Commentary*, trans. Thomas H. Trapp (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1991), 23.

¹¹ Trust is a prominent theme throughout Isaiah. See, Isa 12:2; 14:30; 26:3, 4; 30:12, 15; 31:1; 32:9, 10, 11, 17, 18; 42:17; 47:8, 10; 50:10; 59:4. In Kings, the root only occurs two other times, once in a non-synoptic portion of the Hezekiah narrative (2 Kgs 18:5) and once as a noun in 1 Kgs 5:5. It is relatively scarce in the wider DtrH as well (Deut 28:52; Jdgs 9:26; 18:7, 10, 27; 20:36). *Contra* Brevard Childs who asserts that trust is a “central term in the theology of the Dtr. historian.” Childs, *Assyrian Crisis*, 85. So also Groves, *Actualization and Interpretation*, 197, n. 53. For more on the prominence of trust in the Hezekiah narrative, see David Bostock, *A Portrayal of Trust: The Theme of Faith in the Hezekiah Narratives*, Paternoster Biblical Monographs (Milton Keynes, UK: Paternoster, 2006), 30-31; Paul S. Evans, *The Invasion of Sennacherib in the Book of Kings: A Source-Critical and Rhetorical Study of 2 Kings 18-19*, VTSup 125 (Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2009), 117-18.

¹² Groves, *Actualization and Interpretation*, 197.

¹³ *Ibid.*

and conclusion (2 Kgs 18:1-3; 20:20-21) are characteristic features of the book of Kings. Likewise, the calculation of Hezekiah's twenty-nine year reign in 2 Kgs 18:2 is a typical feature of the Deuteronomistic portrayal and may have been influenced by pre-existing notices in the narrative of "Hezekiah's fourteenth year" and an additional "fifteen more years." Similarly, the mention of Hezekiah's trust in 2 Kgs 18:5 employs a typical Deuteronomistic literary device of assigning unsurpassability to a particular king,¹⁴ but seems to derive this from the frequency of the Isaianic theme of **נבט** which is prominent in the Hezekiah narrative. The notice of Hezekiah's capitulation to Sennacherib in 2 Kgs 18:14-16 is a motif which appears several times in Kings (see below) which explains its intrusive character as an *addition* to the book of 2 Kings for the sake of perpetuating this motif. The Deuteronomistic expression "for the sake of my servant David" in 2 Kgs 19:34 and 20:6 is absent in Isa 38:6, suggesting that it was added to the 2 Kings account because of its Deuteronomistic flavour. As for the presence of other Deuteronomistic elements in the synoptic portions of the narrative, such as the reference to God as a "living God" in 2 Kgs 19:4, 16//Isa 37:4, 17 and idols as "works of human hands, wood and stone" in 2 Kgs 19:18//Isa 37:19, these may be attributed to several factors, including Deuteronomistic influence on the composition of Isaiah, stock-in-trade expressions, or subsequent redactions to the Isaiah narrative based on the 2 Kings alteration of the material. At any rate, these features are not significant enough to outweigh the persuasive synoptic links binding the narrative to its literary context in the book of Isaiah.

¹⁴ On this literary device, see Gary Knoppers, "'There was None Like Him': Incomparability in the Books of Kings," *CBQ* 54 (1992): 411-31; Phil Botha, "'No King Like Him...': Royal Etiquette According to the Deuteronomistic Historian," in *Past, Present, Future: The Deuteronomistic History and the Prophets*, ed. Johannes C. de Moor and Harry F. van Rooy, OTS 44 (Leiden: Brill, 2000), 36-49.

This conception of the transmission of the Hezekiah narrative from the book of Isaiah to the book of 2 Kings will be further supported in the following examination of the distinct significance of the narrative in Isaiah and 2 Kings. In each context, the structure given to the narrative, the non-synoptic elements, the location within the corpus, and literary associations to the rest of the book combine to produce a discrete theological function. In the book of Isaiah, the story of Hezekiah symbolically depicts Israel's exile and restoration. This function is achieved, first, through the sequential arrangement of the three scenes of the narrative to depict a movement from Assyria to Babylon and from threat of exile to promise of return. Second, the book of Isaiah explicitly portrays Ahaz and Hezekiah as contrasting figures to the effect that their reigns represent periods of exile and restoration. This portrayal is bolstered by the inclusion of the non-synoptic prayer of Hezekiah in Isa 38:10-20 which contains lexical and thematic overtones of exile. Finally, the contextualization of the narrative at the hinge between First Isaiah (Isa 1-35) and Second Isaiah (Isa 40ff)¹⁵ signals a transition from exile to restoration.

Several of these structural features of the narrative are preserved in the 2 Kings version of Hezekiah's reign, but because of the surrounding literary context and the non-synoptic additions, a different effect is achieved. In the context of 2 Kings, the sequential arrangement of the scenes is adopted from the Isaianic version of the narrative in order to introduce Babylon as a future threat to Judah. 2 Kings likewise presents Ahaz and Hezekiah as contrasting figures, but with the effect of explaining

¹⁵ Discussion of the scope of Second Isaiah, whether chapters 40-66 or chapters 40-55 with chapters 56-66 assigned to a third compositional segment, lies outside the range of this analysis. Differences in tone, style, and subject matter between chapters 1-39, 40-55, and 56-66 suggest three distinct compositional layers produced during the pre-exilic, exilic, and post-exilic eras, respectively. At the same time, strong linguistic and thematic ties link the 66 chapters together and a discernable historical and theological development is evident in the amalgamation of the sections, indicating influence and redactional reworking between subdivisions. For a thorough discussion of the issues, see Koole, *Isaiah: Part 3*, 5-36.

why Judah's imminent exile was delayed under Hezekiah's reign. Within the context of 2 Kings, the Hezekiah narrative is surrounded by declarations that Judah is on an inescapable trajectory toward judgment. The function of the Hezekiah narrative in this context further underscores the threat of exile in order to emphasize God's mercy in suspending judgment. A fuller examination of the sequential arrangement of the Hezekiah narrative, the plusses in Isaiah and 2 Kings, the contrasting depictions of Ahaz and Hezekiah in each book, and the effect of the literary contextualization of the account will illustrate how the narrative has been adapted for distinct purposes. Analysis of the function of the Hezekiah narrative in the contexts of Isaiah and 2 Kings will lay the groundwork for an examination of the Chronicist's adaptation of the account and the conspicuously Isaianic elements which have influenced the Chronicler's portrayal.

The Function of the Hezekiah Narrative in the Book of Isaiah

Sequence of the Three Scenes

Internal chronological inconsistencies between the three scenes of the Hezekiah narrative suggest that their sequence is primarily attributable to ideological factors related to the inclusion of the narrative within the biblical portrayal rather than strictly historical concerns. Examples of these chronological tensions include Hezekiah's surrender to the Assyrian king in 2 Kgs 18:14-16, which *precedes* the account of the threatened attack. Similarly, during Hezekiah's illness Isaiah promises deliverance from the Assyrian threat (2 Kgs 20:6//Is 38:6) *after* the danger has already been averted (2 Kgs 19:35//Is 37:36). In the third scene of the narrative, when the Babylonian envoys come to visit Hezekiah, the treasures are apparently still intact, though 2 Kgs 18:14-16 depicts Hezekiah giving Sennacherib all the silver which was

found in the treasuries and stripping the gold from the doors and doorposts of the temple.

To these literary observations can be added discrepancies between the biblical accounts and historical evidence. The Babylonian envoys probably visited Hezekiah prior to the Assyrian invasion of 701 BCE based on the fact that Merodach-baladan, who, according to the narrative, is responsible for sending envoys from Babylon to Hezekiah, reigned in Babylon from 721-710 and again in 703 BCE. Secondly, Tirhakah, king of Cush, who is mentioned in 2 Kgs 19:9//Isa 37:9 did not become king before 699 BCE and would have been too young to lead an expedition in 701 BCE.¹⁶ Third, Sennacherib's death at the hands of his sons, depicted immediately after the failed attack on Jerusalem in 2 Kgs 19:37//Isa 37:38, is dated to 681 BCE which is some twenty years after the siege of 701 BCE and six years after the death of Hezekiah.¹⁷ Finally, if the synchronic dating in 2 Kgs 18:1 is correct that Hezekiah ascended to the throne in Hoshea's third year, this would place the Assyrian invasion around 714 BCE when Sargon II and not Sennacherib was king of Assyria. Alternatively, if the synchronic dating of 2 Kgs 18:3 is correct that Sennacherib's 701

¹⁶ This observation is a key component of a "two campaign theory" in which Sennacherib came up against Jerusalem in 701 and in 690 BCE. The first attack resulted in Hezekiah's submission depicted in 2 Kgs 18:14-16 whereas the second resulted in Jerusalem's victory (2 Kgs 19:35). William F. Albright, "The Chronology of the Divided Monarchy of Israel," *BASOR* 100 (1945): 16-22; John Bright, *A History of Israel* (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1981), 282-309; W. H. Shea, "Sennacherib's Second Palestinian Campaign," *JBL* 104 (1985): 401-18. However, this theory has been successfully refuted by several scholars: Harold Henry Rowley, "Hezekiah's Reform and Rebellion," *BJRL* 44 (1962): 395-431; idem, *Men of God: Studies in Old Testament History and Prophecy* (London: Thomas Nelson, 1963), 120-22; Childs, *Isaiah and the Assyrian Crisis*, 15-19; Francolino J. Gonçalves, *L'expédition de Sennachérib en Palestine dans la littérature hébraïque ancienne* (Paris: Gabalda, 1986), 129-31; Andrew G. Vaughn, *Theology, History, and Archaeology in the Chronicler's Account of Hezekiah* (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1999), 7-10; Bob Becking, "Chronology: A Skeleton without Flesh? Sennacherib's Campaign as a Case-Study," in *'Like a Bird in a Cage': The Invasion of Sennacherib in 701 BCE*, ed. Lester L. Grabbe, *JSOTSup* 363 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2003), 46-72.

¹⁷ Isaiah's oracle in 2 Kgs 19:7//Isa 37:7 links Sennacherib's return to his own land with his death, as does the narrative portrayal in 2 Kgs 19:35-37//Isa 37:36-38 and 2 Chr 32:21, with both events preceding Hezekiah's death. Historically, however, there was no connection between Sennacherib's campaign against Judah in 701 BCE and his assassination by his sons in 681 BCE. Simo Parpola, "The Murder of Sennacherib," in *Death in Mesopotamia: Papers Read at the XXVI Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale* ed. Bendt Alster (Copenhagen: Akademisk Forlag, 1980).

BCE invasion of Judah occurred in Hezekiah's fourteenth year, then this would place Hezekiah's ascension to the throne in 727/726 BCE, a date which is irreconcilable with the date given in 2 Kgs 18:1.¹⁸

These chronological and historical tensions are alleviated, however, when the scenes are repositioned to the following sequence: 1) Hezekiah's illness and recovery; 2) the visit from the Babylonian envoys (ca. 703 or 712 BCE); 3) the Assyrian invasion (701 BCE). It seems, therefore, that theological rather than strictly historical concerns governed the arrangement of the narrative.¹⁹ Ronald Clements fittingly suggests that the current sequence of the material, with Assyrian threat preceding Babylonian threat, reflects a presentation of the events which corresponds with Judah's own perspective of their history:

There are easily recognisable reasons why the order given should have been chosen, and preferred, to the correct chronological one. It was important for the reader to consider the fact of the threat to Jerusalem posed by the Babylonians after that from the Assyrians since this reflected the actual historical perspective in which these world powers had threatened Judah.²⁰

Indeed, this movement from Assyria to Babylon corresponds to the literary portrayal in Isaiah and 2 Kings in which Babylon replaces Assyria as God's instrument of judgment. Within the context of Isaiah, this movement is signalled through a carefully structured network of repetitions and juxtapositions which associate the roles of

¹⁸ Another "two campaign theory" corresponds with this observation, positing that Sennacherib's campaign of 701 BCE is reflected in 2 Kgs 18:14-16 and a campaign by Sargon II in 715 BCE is reflected in 2 Kgs 18:17-19:37. J. Goldberg, "Two Assyrian Campaigns against Hezekiah and Later Eighth Century Biblical Chronology," *Bib* 80, no. 3 (1999): 360-90.

¹⁹ This view is argued by Childs, *Assyrian Crisis*, 118-27; Ackroyd, "Interpretation of the Babylonian Exile," 153-55; idem, "Isaiah 36-39," 109-11; Clements, "Isaiah Narrative of 2 Kings 20:12-19," 209-20; Groves, *Actualization and Interpretation*, 191-204; Smelik, "Distortion of Prophecy," 73-74; Seitz, *Zion's Final Destiny*, 49-53; 96-100; Robert H. O'Connell, *Concentricity and Continuity: The Literary Structure of Isaiah*, JSOTSup 188 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1994), 138.

²⁰ Clements, "Isaiah Narrative of 2 Kings 20:12-19," 213.

Assyria and Babylon in Israel's destiny. In collaboration with the thesis that the Hezekiah narrative was incorporated into the book of Isaiah prior to its inclusion in 2 Kings, it is suggested that the account was assigned its current sequence for the sake of its insertion in Isaiah. This sequence of the three scenes of the narrative which reflects a movement from Assyria to Babylon corresponds with the progression depicted elsewhere in First Isaiah. Subsequently, this sequence was carried over into the 2 Kings portrayal of the material where the arrangement of the scenes, though not nearly so crucial from a literary standpoint, provided a convenient means of introducing Babylon and foreshadowing the downfall of Jerusalem which is narrated later in the book. A more thorough examination of the association and progression created between Assyria and Babylon in First Isaiah will substantiate this proposal.

Transition from Assyria to Babylon

At several points in First Isaiah, prophecies concerning Babylon are interpolated into the wider structure of prophecies regarding Assyria. Interrupting the segment in Isa 10:5-14:27 describing the role of Assyria in Israel's destiny, an oracle against Babylon is inserted in Isa 13:1-14:23. Similarly, an oracle against Babylon in Isa 21:1-10 is juxtaposed with a prophecy describing the fate of Jerusalem in terms closely resembling the historical situation between Judah and Assyria in 701 BCE. Most strikingly, Isa 23:13 seems to refer interchangeably to Assyria and Babylon. This correlation between Assyria and Babylon culminates in the Hezekiah narrative of Isa 36-39 in which the first scene featuring Assyria as a threat against Jerusalem is followed by the third scene in which Jerusalem is now threatened by Babylon. The

deliberate juxtaposition of prophecies concerning Assyria and Babylon correlates their respective roles as threats to Judah's well-being.²¹

This correspondence between Assyria and Babylon is further observed in the repetition of אַל-תִּירָא ("fear not") oracles in the book of Isaiah which illustrate a progression from Assyrian threat to Babylonian threat. Edgar Conrad points out that the same "fear not" message, which he classifies as a "War Oracle,"²² is delivered to Ahaz (Isa 7:4-9), to the remnant dwelling in Jerusalem (Isa 10:24-27), and to Hezekiah (Isa 37:6-7).²³ But whereas Ahaz is told not to fear the Syro-Ephraimite threat, the remnant and Hezekiah are told not to fear *Assyria*, indicating a "movement or development in the text from promise to fulfilment."²⁴ Through the fulfilment of the אַל-תִּירָא oracle to Ahaz, the Assyrians are introduced as God's means of suppressing the Syro-Ephraimite coalition (Isa 7:16; 8:4; 9:7-11 [8-12 EV]), but also as a "rod of fury" which will pose a future threat to Judah (Isa 7:17-25; 8:7; 10:5-11). However, transforming the "rod of fury" image, Isaiah goes on to prophesy: "Be not afraid of the Assyrians when they strike with the rod and lift up their staff against you

²¹ Clements goes so far as to suggest that this shaping of the material indicates the extension of an earlier prophecy concerning Assyria to include Babylon at a later time, "Isaiah 14,22-27: A Central Passage Reconsidered," in *The Book of Isaiah*, ed. Jacques Vermeylen, BETL 81 (Leuven: University Press, 1989), 253-62. See also, Gerald T. Sheppard, "The Book of Isaiah: Competing Structures According to a Late Modern Description of Its Shape and Scope," in *SBL 1992 Seminar Papers*, ed. Eugene H. Lovering, Jr., SBLSP 31 (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1992), 549-82 (576-77). In fact, Clements argues that Isa 14:24-27 reflects three distinct stages of redaction: an anti-Assyrian (ca. 701 BCE), an anti-Babylonian (ca. 587 BCE), and an apocalyptic redaction (post-exilic) that extends the fate of Assyria to all nations that threaten Jerusalem. Whether or not one adopts his redaction-historical reconstruction of the growth of the material in Isaiah, he has put his finger on an important association between Assyria and Babylon in chapters 1-39 of the book.

²² In a prior study, Conrad argues that the "fear not" oracles in Isaiah represent stereotypical language encouraging warriors for battle, *Fear Not Warrior: A Study of 'al tira' Pericopes in the Hebrew Scriptures*, BJS 75 (Chicago: Scholars Press, 1985).

²³ Gerald Sheppard, in response to Conrad's study, perceives that several additional אַל-תִּירָא prophecies occur throughout the book, see his "Book of Isaiah." The same message is delivered to Ahaz (Isa 7:4), to Isaiah (Isa 8:12), to the remnant (Isa 10:24;), to Hezekiah (Isa 37:6), to Jerusalem (Isa 40:9), and to the restored people of Israel (Isa 41:10, 14; 43:5; 44:2; 51:7; 54:4). Not all of these passages pointed out by Sheppard fit Conrad's designation of the "War Oracle" genre which is perhaps why Conrad omitted them from his study.

²⁴ Edgar Conrad, "The Royal Narratives and the Structure of the Book of Isaiah," *JSOT* 41 (1988): 67-81 (70).

as the Egyptians did. For in a very little while my fury will come to an end, and my anger will be directed to their destruction” (Isa 10:24-25; the destruction of Assyria is reiterated in Isa 10:12; 14:25-26). The Hezekiah narrative depicts the fulfilment of this role for Assyria as a threat which is averted through God’s intervention. This fulfilment is signalled by the repetition of another אֶל-תִּירָא oracle (Isa 37:6), this time addressed to Hezekiah. The fulfilment of God’s intention to destroy Assyria is further indicated through the patterning of the Rabshakeh’s speech to Hezekiah as a direct echo of the prophecy of Isaiah to Ahaz in Isa 7:4-10:34²⁵ and through the portrayal of Hezekiah’s reign in terms reminiscent of Isaiah’s prior prophecies to Ahaz, namely, a righteous king succeeds Ahaz,²⁶ Assyria is destroyed,²⁷ and a Judean remnant is preserved.²⁸

However, beyond the fulfilment within the Hezekiah narrative of First Isaiah oracles predicting Assyria’s demise, several prophecies regarding judgment against Babylon in Isa 11-35 are left unfulfilled in the Hezekiah narrative. These prophecies include the prediction that Assyria will be replaced by Babylon as God’s instrument of judgment (Isa 13:1-16; 23:13) but that ultimately Babylon, like Assyria, will be judged (Isa 13:17-22; 14:4-23; 21:1-10). Though Babylon is introduced as a threat in Isa 39, there is no account of her downfall. Conrad sees the non-fulfilment of

²⁵ Sennacherib’s emissary claims that Assyria has been sent by God to invade Judah (Isa 36:10; cf. Isa 10:5-6); he asserts that the gods of other foreign nations will not be able to deliver Jerusalem out of Assyria’s hand (Isa 36:19-20; 37:11-13; cf. Isa 10:8-11, 13-14); and he reveals Assyria’s hubris in advancing itself above Judah’s God (Isa 36:18; 37:10, 22-29; cf. Isa 10:15-19). Conrad, “Royal Narratives,” 72. For more on the similarities between the speeches of Isaiah in Isa 6ff and the Rabshakeh in Isa 36-37, see Smelik, “Distortion of Prophecy,” 86; Ehud Ben Zvi, “Who Wrote the Speech of Rabshakeh and When?,” *JBL* 109 (1990): 79-92; Burke O. Long, *2 Kings*, FOTL 10 (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1991), 219-20.

²⁶ Identification of the Immanuel of Isa 7:14 as a descendant of Ahaz, namely Hezekiah, is addressed in more detail in the following chapter. Thorough bibliographies on this much-debated issue are provided by Paul D. Wegner, *An Examination of Kingship and Messianic Expectation in Isaiah 1-35* (Lewiston, New York: Edwin Mellen Press, 1992); Sweeney, *Isaiah 1-39*, 163-64.

²⁷ The “wasting sickness among his stout warriors” described in Isa 10:16 is executed in Isa 37:36.

²⁸ The promised remnant of Isa 6:13; 7:22; 8:8; 10:20-27 is fulfilled in Isaiah’s sign of a “surviving remnant of the house of Judah” in Isa 37:31-32.

prophecies concerning Babylon as a clue to the function of the “War Oracles” in chapters 41, 43, and 44. He states,

The War Oracle to the people promising deliverance from the Assyrians (10.24-27) gives hope following the announcement of Assyrian devastation at the end of the Ahaz narrative in the same way that the War Oracles addressed to the people (in chs. 41, 43, 44) give hope following the announcement of Babylonian devastation at the end of the Hezekiah narrative.²⁹

Thus, through the literary symmetry between Assyria and Babylon, it is implied that God’s protective intentions for the city and the king in 701 BCE will be extended to the situation with Babylon.

A similar repeated motif which creates an analogy between Assyria and Babylon in the book of Isaiah and illustrates the eventual triumph of Judah over her oppressors may be the rhetorical question in Isaiah’s oracle against the king of Assyria in Isa 37:22-29: “Have you not heard that I determined it long ago? I planned from days of old what now I bring to pass” (Isa 37:26). This oracular device is subsequently employed in several prophecies in Second Isaiah which refer to God’s predetermined plan of Babylonian exile and restoration (Isa 40:21; 41:4, 26; 44:7-8; 45:21).³⁰ In this way, the hopeful messages to Judah of her preservation in light of the threat from Assyria are extended to the nation in captivity in Babylon.

As has already been intimated, a key feature in this Assyria-Babylon correlation and transition in the book of Isaiah is the narrative backdrop provided for Isaiah’s oracles consisting of similar threats to Jerusalem depicted during the reigns of Ahaz and Hezekiah. The complementary narratives of Ahaz and Hezekiah, which are more pronounced in the book of Isaiah than in 2 Kings, provide further indication of

²⁹ “Royal Narratives,” 77.

³⁰ Groves, *Actualization and Interpretation*, 198. Groves concludes, “The Assyrian threat which pervades first Isaiah needs to be linked to the later Babylonian menace.” Ibid., 200.

the priority of the Isaianic context for the Hezekiah narrative. More importantly, through the contrasting portrayal of Ahaz and Hezekiah, the periods of their reigns assume symbolic significance as representations of Judah's exile and restoration.

Contrast between Ahaz and Hezekiah

The narrative sections of Isaiah 6-9 and 36-39, provide corresponding portrayals of Ahaz and Hezekiah. Similar motifs, structure, and change in genre characterize the two accounts, indicating the schematization of the portrayals of each king.³¹ Both sections reflect an abrupt shift from oracular speech to narrative prose which sets them apart from the surrounding literary context. In both narratives an invading army threatens the city of Jerusalem; both centralize activity at the “conduit of the upper pool on the highway to the Washer’s Field” (Isa 7:3; 36:2); both kings receive an אֱלֹהִים oracle from Isaiah and are offered a sign of assurance in response to their distress (Isa 7:4-11; 37:6-7; 21-35); in both accounts, Isaiah’s oracle contains the expression “the zeal of the Lord of hosts shall do this” (Isa 9:6 [7 EV]; 37:32), a phrase otherwise absent in the book of Isaiah; in both accounts, the downfall of king and city are suspended, but future disaster is foreshadowed (Isa 7:15-25; 39:6-7).³²

This literary correlation between Isa 6-9 and 36-39 also highlights the differences in character between Ahaz and Hezekiah. When faced with the threat of invasion, Ahaz’s heart “shook as the trees of the forest shake before the wind” (Isa 7:2). Hezekiah’s response is quite different: “As soon as [he] heard it, he tore his clothes and covered himself with sackcloth and went into the house of the LORD” (Isa 37:1). When Ahaz is exhorted to, “Ask a sign of the LORD your God, אֱלֹהֵיךָ”

³¹ The following correspondences are absent in the 2 Kings portrayal of Ahaz.

³² These correspondences between the two narratives are pointed out by Ackroyd, "Isaiah 36-39," 116-19, and Edgar Conrad, *Reading Isaiah*, OBT (Minneapolis: Augsburg Fortress Publishers, 1991), 38-39, who labels the two prose accounts as “type-scenes.”

אֶל־יְהוָה אֲשֶׁר אֵלֶיךָ” (Isa 7:11), he refuses: “But Ahaz said, ‘I will not ask, and I will not put the LORD to the test, וַיֹּאמֶר אַחִיז לֹא־אֶשְׁאֵל וְלֹא־אֶנְסֶה אֶת־יְהוָה:” (Isa 7:12). In contrast, Hezekiah requests a sign of his own initiative: “Hezekiah also had said, וַיֹּאמֶר חֲזַקְיָהוּ מָה אוֹת כִּי, ‘What is the sign that I shall go up to the house of the LORD?, אֲעֵלֶה בֵּית יְהוָה:” (Isa 38:22). And whereas Ahaz drops out of the scene after his refusal of the sign, Hezekiah has the last word in the narrative with his response to Isaiah’s oracle of future devastation at the hands of Babylon: “The word of the LORD that you have spoken is good, טוֹב דְּבַר־יְהוָה אֲשֶׁר דִּבַּרְתָּ” (Isa 39:8). This contrast between the two kings serves to illustrate a response of disbelief and one of faith in God’s prophetic word.³³ But certain clues in the text indicate that Ahaz and Hezekiah do not function only as examples of faith in the book of Isaiah but also as symbols of God’s intentions for Jerusalem. Hezekiah himself functions as a figuration of the city of Jerusalem in the book.

Again, the אֶל־יְהוָה oracles provide an important clue in the association of king and city in that the same prophecy given to Hezekiah in Isa 37:6 is then given to Jerusalem in Isa 40:9. Hezekiah asks Isaiah to “lift up your prayer for the remnant that is left, וַיִּנְשָׂאתָ תְּפִלָּה בְּעַד הַשְּׂאֲרִית הַנִּמְצָצָה” (Isa 37:4) and receives the encouragement, “Do not be afraid, אֶל־תִּירָא” (Isa 37:6). This is followed by a description of Hezekiah himself praying and affirming, “You are the God, you alone, of all the kingdoms of

³³ Several scholars point out that Ahaz and Hezekiah present contrasting illustrations of faith in the book of Isaiah: Joseph Blenkinsopp, *A History of Prophecy in Israel* (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1983), 109-10; Ackroyd, "Isaiah 36-39," 105-20; Conrad, "Royal Narratives," 67-81; Smelik, "Distortion of Prophecy," 70-93; Seitz, *Zion's Final Destiny*, 89-90, 195-96; Sheppard, "Book of Isaiah," 576; Ronald E. Clements, "The Immanuel Prophecy of Isa. 7:10-17 and Its Messianic Interpretation," in *Old Testament Prophecy: From Oracles to Canon* (Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 1996), 65-77.

the earth, *הָאֲרֶץ לְכָל מַמְלָכוֹת הָאָרֶץ*, (Isa 37:16). Several of these same themes are picked up in Isaiah's subsequent oracle addressed to the city of Jerusalem: "Lift up your voice with strength, O Jerusalem, herald of good news, lift it up, fear not; say to the cities of Judah, 'Behold your God,' *הָרִימִי בְכַח קוֹלְךָ מִבְּשָׂרְתָּ יְרוּשָׁלַם הָרִימִי* (Isa 40:9). *אֶל־תִּירָאִי אִמְרִי לְעָרֵי יְהוּדָה הִנֵּה אֱלֹהֵיכֶם:*

In a similar way, Isaiah's oracle to Hezekiah during his illness reinforces the correlation between the king and the city by promising Hezekiah recovery as a component of God's deliverance of Jerusalem: "I will deliver you *and this city* out of the hand of the king of Assyria, *and will defend this city*, *וְאֵת מֶלֶךְ־אַשּׁוּר אֲצִילְךָ וְאֵת* (Isa 38:6, emphasis added). According to the narrative logic of the passage, Isaiah's guarantee of the city's preservation is redundant because of the defeat of Assyria recounted in Isa 37:36-38 and Hezekiah's petition for mercy which does not mention the well-being of Jerusalem (Isa 38:3). Here the effect of the shaping of the material in Isaiah vis-à-vis 2 Kings is conspicuous. In 2 Kings, the antecedent of the "thing that [the LORD] has promised, *אֶת־הַדָּבָר אֲשֶׁר דִּבֶּר*" (2 Kgs 20:9//Isa 38:7) is the healing of Hezekiah (2 Kgs 20:8), whereas in Isaiah it is the deliverance of the city (Isa 38:6-7).³⁴ As a further correlation between the king and the city, Christopher Seitz suggests that Hezekiah's sickness (*חָלָה* in Isa 38:1, 9) parallels Jerusalem's sickness depicted in the opening chapter of Isaiah which states, "The whole head is sick [*כָּל־רֹאשׁ לִחְלִי*], and the whole heart faint. From the sole of the foot even to the head, there is no soundness in it, but

³⁴ Konkel, "Sources," 480. This difficult reading in Isaiah in which the deliverance of the city is reiterated in the context of Hezekiah's illness may provide further evidence of the priority of Isaiah's version of the narrative which has been smoothed out in the context of 2 Kings.

bruises and sores and raw wounds; they are not pressed out or bound up or softened with oil” (Isa 1:5-6).³⁵ The correspondence reaches beyond sickness to the healing of both the king and the inhabitants of Jerusalem (Isa 30:26; 53:5; 57:18-19).³⁶ Seitz also draws attention to the similar structure observable in Isaiah’s presentation of the Assyrian crisis (Isa 36-37) and Hezekiah’s illness and recovery (Isa 38) which supports the thesis that both scenes have a similar function in expressing God’s redemptive intentions for Jerusalem. Structural similarities include: 1) the prophet’s oracle (Isa 37:6-7; 38:1); 2) the king’s prayer (Isa 37:15-20; 38:2-3); 3) a new prophetic oracle containing the promise, “I will defend this city” (Isa 37:21-29; 38:5-6); 4) a sign pledged with the words, “This shall be a sign to you from the LORD” (Isa 37:30-32; 38:7-8); and 5) deliverance (Isa 37:36-38; 38:9, 21-22).³⁷ Thus, Isa 36-38 explicitly links the fates of Hezekiah and Jerusalem with the result that the king’s healing functions as a metaphor for God’s healing intentions toward Zion.

The association between Hezekiah and Jerusalem also explains the non-synoptic inclusion of Hezekiah’s prayer in Isa 38:10-20 following his recovery. Several aspects of the psalm make it difficult to classify form-critically. For example, the psalm reflects a transition from lamentation (Isa 38:10-15) to confession of sin (Isa 38:16-17) to thanksgiving for deliverance (Isa 38:18-20). According to the superscription in Isa 38:9 the psalm was written after Hezekiah’s recovery, but the tone of the psalm expresses distress in the midst of danger (Isa 38:10-16) and looks forward to future salvation (Isa 38:20).³⁸ The final verse of the psalm reflects a shift from a singular (Isa 38:10-20a) to a plural voice (Isa 38:20b). Finally, Hezekiah’s

³⁵ Seitz, *Zion's Final Destiny*, 176-82.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 173-74.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, *idem*, *Isaiah 1-39*, Int (Louisville: John Knox Press, 1993), 254-55. Though many of these linkages are also present in 2 Kings they are much more consistently applied in Isaiah.

³⁸ Notice also the location given to the prophet’s healing procedure in Isa 38:21 (after the psalm) versus 2 Kgs 20:7 where it immediately follows Isaiah’s oracle of deliverance.

declaration, “You have cast all my sins behind your back” (Isa 38:17) is discordant with his earlier proclamation, “I have walked before you in faithfulness and with a whole heart, and have done what is good in your sight” (Isa 38:3).³⁹

Difficulties in identifying the psalm’s genre and its relationship to the wider narrative point to the hand of an editor who included the passage to serve a theological function within the context of Isaiah. The psalm contains allusions pertinent to an exilic situation, suggesting that it functions with reference to Hezekiah’s illness and recovery as well as to Jerusalem’s exile and restoration. The lament of the psalm, speaks of Sheol and banishment which appropriately express exilic circumstances: “In the middle of my days I must depart; I am consigned to the gates of Sheol for the rest of my years, *בְּדַמִּי יָמִי אֵלֶכָה בְּשַׁעְרֵי שְׁאוֹל פִּקְדֹתַי יֵתֵר שְׁנוֹתַי*” (Isa 38:10, see also 38:18),⁴⁰ and “My dwelling is plucked up and removed from me, *דֹּוְרִי נִסָּע וְנִגְלָה מִנִּי*” (Isa 38:12).⁴¹ Similarly, in the thanksgiving portion of the psalm, restoration is described using idioms which recall Judah’s exile. Isa 38:17 states, “you have delivered my life from the pit of destruction, *וְיָאֲתָה חַשְׁקֶתָ נַפְשִׁי מִשַּׁחַת בְּלִי*” and 38:18 says, “those who go down to the pit do not hope for your faithfulness, *לֹא־יִשְׁבְּרוּ*”⁴² In conjunction with this deliverance from the pit in the psalm is

³⁹ For a discussion of different explanations of the psalm’s classification and connection to the context of Isaiah, see Seitz, *Zion’s Final Destiny*, 166-71.

⁴⁰ Particularly in Isaiah, *שְׁאוֹל* is employed as a metaphor for military despoliation and exile: Isa 5:14; 14:11, 15, 19; 57:9. See also Ezek 31:15; 32:21, 27.

⁴¹ Here there seems to be a play on the word *דֹּוּר* which can either signify a dwelling-place or the span of one’s life, making it an appropriate image for expressing both physical illness and national exile.

⁴² The word *בֹּוֹר* as a reference to the downfall of a nation or captivity is customary in the Latter Prophets: Isa 14:15; 24:22; Ezek 26:20; 31:14, 16; 32:18, 23, 29; Zech 9:11. Particularly in Ezekiel, the idiom *וְיִרְדּוּ-בֹּוֹר* is used to describe defeated nations. In both Isa 14:15 and Ezek 31:16, the motifs of *שְׁאוֹל* and *בֹּוֹר* are combined in a manner similar to that seen in Hezekiah’s prayer in Isa 38:18. In Isa 14:15 it is Babylon who is “brought down to Sheol, to the far reaches of the pit, *אֶל-שְׁאוֹל תּוֹרַד*”

the remission of sins: “You have cast all my sins behind your back, כִּי הִשְׁלַכְתָּ אַחֲרֵי גִידִי” (Isa 38:17). Similarly, God’s forgiveness of Israel’s sins is a distinct component of the restoration after exile described in Isaiah: “I am he who blots out your transgressions for my own sake, and I will not remember your sins, אֲנֹכִי הוּא מַחֶה אֶת־עֲוֹנוֹתַי” (Isa 43:25), and “I have blotted out your transgressions like a cloud and your sins like mist, מִחִיתִי כְעָב עֲוֹנוֹתַי וְכַמִּטְּחַן חַטֹּאתַי” (Isa 44:22). Finally, the culmination of the psalm describes the anticipation of corporate worship in the temple – “We will play my music on stringed instruments all the days of our lives at the house of the LORD, וְנִגְנְנָתִי נְגִינָה כָּל־יְמֵי חַיֵּינוּ עַל־בֵּית יְהוָה” (Isa 38:20).⁴³ Peter Ackroyd sees this final verse of Hezekiah’s psalm in Isaiah as a metaphorical reference to Israel’s return from exile: “Such a climax here provides a pointer to that longed-for restoration of the temple and its worship which is seen as the sequel to disaster in the fuller working out of the theme....The illness of Hezekiah and the death sentence upon him thus become a type of judgment and exile.”⁴⁴ These features of the psalm indicate its appropriate application to the inhabitants of Jerusalem in the midst of their exile, thus strengthening the symbolic link between Hezekiah’s illness and recovery and Jerusalem’s exile and restoration.

It has been demonstrated that the juxtapositions of Assyria and Babylon, and of Ahaz and Hezekiah, within the book of Isaiah invest the Hezekiah narrative with symbolic significance with reference to Judah’s Babylonian exile and anticipated

אֶל־יִרְכַּת־בוֹר:” and in Ezek 31:16 Assyria is “cast down to Sheol with those who go down to the pit, בְּהוֹרְדֵי אֶת־שְׂאוֹלָה אֶת־יִרְכַּת־בוֹר.” These analogous expressions further indicate that the psalm in Isa 38 has a double referent to Hezekiah’s illness and recovery as well as to the fate of Judah as a nation.

⁴³ Compare this description of corporate worship in Isaiah with the description in 2 Kgs 20:5 and 8 of Hezekiah alone worshipping in the house of the LORD.

⁴⁴ Ibid., See also Konkel, "Sources," 479.

restoration. This function of the narrative is confirmed most compellingly through its contextualization at the hinge between First Isaiah (Isa 1-35) and Second Isaiah (Isa 40-66), subdivisions of the book which themselves signal a transition from exile to restoration.

Contextualization of the Hezekiah Narrative

The prophet Isaiah ministered in the eighth century during the reigns of Ahaz and Hezekiah. But events and individuals from a much later period appear in the book, such as the destruction of the temple, the Babylonian exile, the figure of Cyrus, and the Persian Empire. This suggests secondary compositional and redactional layers within the work deriving from a sixth-century context and later. The density of late material in chapters 40-66 provides the basis for critical theories of secondary authorship of the book with chapters 40ff thought to reflect an exilic stage of composition.⁴⁵ One effect of this conception of the growth of the composite book of Isaiah is the theologically significant role it bestows on the Hezekiah narrative which either functions as a conclusion to First Isaiah prior to the addition of chapters 40ff⁴⁶ or as a bridge to join First and Second Isaiah into a single, larger composition.⁴⁷

⁴⁵ Ibn Ezra in the eleventh century, Baruch Spinoza in the seventeenth century, J. C. Doederlin and J. G. Eichhorn in the eighteenth century all conjectured that chapters 40-55 were the work of a sixth-century BCE Babylonian prophet. See Ronald E. Clements, "Beyond Tradition-History: Deutero-Isaianic Development of First Isaiah Themes," *JSOT* 31 (1985): 95-113 (95). Cf. alternative configurations of the growth of the book, such as the two-book structure divided between chapters 1-33 and 34-66 as proposed by William Hugh Brownlee, *The Meaning of the Qumran Scrolls for the Bible: With Special Attention to the Book of Isaiah* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1964), 247-59; Craig A. Evans, "On the Unity and Parallel Structure of Isaiah," *VT* 38 (1988): 129-47. Or the three-book structure divided between chapters 1-37, 38-55, and 56-66 proposed by J. Alec Motyer, *The Prophecy of Isaiah* (Leicester, England: IVP, 1993).

⁴⁶ A synopsis of this view is provided by Seitz, *Zion's Final Destiny*, 17-26. Assumptions entailed in the "conclusion" view of Isa 36-39 include: 1) the complete independence of First and Second Isaiah until late in the post-exilic period, 2) the priority of the Hezekiah material in the book of 2 Kings such that its inclusion in Isaiah is an "appendix," and 3) the addition of Isa 36-39 and attachment of Second Isaiah onto First Isaiah as an external imposition onto the material rather than an organic development of the First Isaiah tradition. Proponents of this view include Gesenius, *Philologisch-kritischer und historischer Commentar über den Jesaia* (Leipzig: F.C.W. Vogel, 1821), 22, 932-6; Duhm, *Das Buch Jesaia*; Otto Eissfeldt, *The Old Testament: An Introduction*, trans. Peter Ackroyd (Oxford: Blackwell

Indications that the Hezekiah narrative connects First Isaiah to Second Isaiah and signals a transition from the prophecies of judgment in chapters 1-35 to the anticipated restoration in chapters 40-66 are seen in the thematic arrangement of both the Hezekiah narrative and the wider book of Isaiah. A recurring theme within Second Isaiah which indicates a development from exile to restoration is that of “the former things” contrasted with “the latter things” (Isa 41:21-23; 42:9; 43:9, 16-19; 44:6-8; 45:9-13; 45:20-21; 46:9-11; 48:3-6). In this context, it is clear that the “former things” refer to the prophecies of First Isaiah predicting Jerusalem’s exile at the hands of Babylon.⁴⁸ To the “new things” belong Isaiah’s vision of Jerusalem’s restoration and glorification in the “latter days” (Isa 2:1-5; 60:14-22). Precisely because of its pivotal location between chapters 1-35 and 40-66, the Hezekiah narrative both authenticates the reliability of prophecies related to the “former things” and anticipates the arrival

1965); Rémi Lack, *La symbolique du livre d'Isaïe: Essai sur l'image littéraire comme élément de structuration*, AnBib 59 (Rome: Biblical Institute, 1973); Otto Kaiser, *Isaiah 13-39: A Commentary*, trans. Richard Armstrong Wilson, OTL (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1974), 367; Barth, *Jesaja-Worte*; Steck, *Bereitete Heimkehr*; Pierre-Maurice Bogaert, "L'organisation des grands recueils prophétiques," in *The Book of Isaiah*, ed. Jacques Vermeylen, BETL 81 (Leuven: University Press, 1989), 147-53; Jacques Vermeylen, "L'unité."

⁴⁷ Central to this reconstruction of the growth of the book of Isaiah is the belief that comprehensive editing of First and Second Isaiah was undertaken to create a single, coherent composition. Thematic and linguistic parallels between chapters 1-35 and chapters 40-66 support this view as defended by Rolf Rendtorff, "Zur Komposition des Buches Jesaja," VT 34 (1984): 329-52; Peter Ackroyd, "Isaiah 1-12: Presentation of a Prophet," in *Studies in the Religious Tradition*, 79-104; Sweeney, *Isaiah 1-4*, 21-24; Christopher R. Seitz, "The Divine Council: Temporal Transition and New Prophecy in the Book of Isaiah," JBL 109 (1990): 229-46; idem., *Zion's Final Destiny*; David M. Carr, "Reading Isaiah from Beginning (Isaiah 1) to End (Isaiah 65-66): Multiple Modern Possibilities," in *New Visions of Isaiah*, ed. Roy F. Melugin and Marvin A. Sweeney, JSOTSup 214 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1996), 188-218. Still, within this conception of the development of Isaiah, there is latitude regarding the relationship of chapters 36-39 to the rest of the book and the date at which they were added, as is reflected in the following studies: Melugin, *Formation of Isaiah*; Arie van der Kooij, *Die alten Textzeugen des Jesajabucher: ein Beitrag zur Textgeschichte des Alten Testaments*, OBO 35 (Freiburg-Göttingen: Universitätsverlag-Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1981); Rendtorff, "Zur Komposition"; Ackroyd, "Isaiah 36-39"; idem, "Babylonian Exile"; Clements, "Beyond Tradition-History"; idem, "Central Passage"; Groves, *Actualization and Interpretation*, 195-201; Smelik, "Distortion of Prophecy," 70-93; Seitz, *Zion's Final Destiny*, 26-35; Sweeney, *Isaiah 1-4*.

⁴⁸ See the studies by Delitzsch, *Commentary on Isaiah*, 128; Christopher R. North, "The 'Former Things' and the 'New Things' in Deutero-Isaiah," in *Studies in Old Testament Prophecy*, ed. Harold Henry Rowley (Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1950), 124-25; Douglas Jones, "The Tradition of the Oracles of Isaiah of Jerusalem," ZAW 67 (1955): 226-46; Childs, *Introduction to the Old Testament*, 328-30; Clements, *Isaiah 1-39*, 89-107; Walter Brueggemann, "Unity and Dynamic in the Isaiah Tradition," JSOT 29 (1984): 89-107; Sweeney, *Isaiah 1-4*; Rolf Rendtorff, "The Book of Isaiah: A Complex Unity. Synchronic and Diachronic Reading," in *New Visions of Isaiah*, ed. Melugin and Sweeney, 32-49.

of the “new things.” Following the promise of the repopulation of Jerusalem after exile (Isa 35:8-10), and preceding the assurance that God’s judgment on Judah is accomplished (Isa 40:1-2), the Hezekiah narrative of chapters 36-39 marks a literary and theological transition from exile to restoration.⁴⁹

Central to this transition from “former things” to “latter things” is the judgment-salvation schema which characterizes each scene of the Hezekiah narrative. In the first scene, threatened invasion is alleviated through miraculous deliverance; in the second scene, life-threatening illness is averted through miraculous healing.⁵⁰ This patterning in the narrative raises questions about the significance of Isaiah’s oracle in the third scene, Isaiah 39:3-8, which adumbrates Judah’s captivity at the hands of Babylon. The account of the visit from the Babylonian envoys is closely linked to the first two scenes of the Hezekiah narrative, suggesting a similar judgment-salvation motif. Temporal association between the third and previous scenes is created through the introductory phrase, “at that time,” and the pretext given for the envoy’s visit being that the king of Babylon had “heard that [Hezekiah] had been sick and had recovered” (Isa 39:1). Structural similarities between the scenes are also evident: description of an event (Isa 39:1-2; cf. Isa 36:1-22; 38:1a), an interchange between Hezekiah and Isaiah (Isa 39:3-4; cf. Isa 37:1-7; 38:1b-3), an oracle from Isaiah (Isa 39:5-7; cf. Isa 37:21-35; 38:4-8), and a concluding statement affirming the outcome of Isaiah’s oracle (Isa 39:8; cf. Isa 37:36-38; 38:8b, 21-22). Ingrid Hjelm also notes

⁴⁹ Links in tone and content between chapters 35 and 40 indicate that the Hezekiah narrative may be a subsequent insertion to an already-joined First and Second Isaiah. However, this does not undermine the “bridge” function of the Hezekiah narrative maintained here. For more thorough discussions of these links between Isa 35 and 40, see Charles Cutler Torrey, *The Second Isaiah: A New Interpretation* (New York; Edinburgh: Scribners; T & T Clark, 1928); Marvin Pope, “Isaiah 34 in Relation to Isaiah 35, 40-66,” *JBL* 71 (1952): 235-43; John David Smart, *History and Theology in Second Isaiah: A Commentary on Isaiah 35, 40-66* (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1965); Ronald E. Clements, “The Unity of the Book of Isaiah,” *Int* 36 (1982): 117-29; idem., *Isaiah 1-39*, 275-77; Steck, *Bereitete Heimkehr*.

⁵⁰ For fuller treatments of this judgment-salvation/exile-restoration motif in the Hezekiah narrative, see: Ackroyd, “Babylonian Exile”; idem, “Isaiah 36-39”; Clements, “Central Passage”; Smelik, “Distortion of Prophecy”; Hjelm, *Jerusalem’s Rise*.

explicit verbal overtones between Hezekiah's prayer in Isa 38:10-20 and his statement following the visit from the Babylonian envoys: "There will be peace and security in my days, **שְׁלוֹם וְאַמֶּת בְּיָמַי**" (Isa 39:8), particularly through the repetition of **שְׁלוֹם** (Isa 38:17), **אַמֶּת** (Isa 38:18, 19), and **בְּ...יָמַי** (Isa 38:10).⁵¹

However, in spite of the unambiguous associations between the three scenes in the final form of the material, one significant feature distinguishes the story of the visit from the Babylonian envoys. While the accounts of the Assyrian crisis in Isa 36-37 and Hezekiah's illness and recovery in Isa 38 incorporate clear restoration themes, chapter 39, in contrast, ends on a note of judgment rather than restoration. However, because of the placement of the Hezekiah narrative at the hinge between First and Second Isaiah, the final scene of the Babylonian envoys must be heard in conjunction with the restoration promises of chapters 40ff which assure Jerusalem that "her warfare is ended, that her iniquity is pardoned, that she has received from the LORD's hand double for all her sins" (Isa 40:2). The true conclusion to the account of the Babylonian envoys is not Isaiah's prophecy of impending judgment (Isa 39:5-7) but the subsequent oracles of hope and restoration following the Babylonian exile (Isa 40:1-11). This is precisely the point made by Ackroyd in the following reflections:

We may indeed ask whether the confident chapter division between 39 and 40...may not have served to obscure the nature of the purposeful arrangement of the material of the book. Is there perhaps a case for seeing the opening verses of chapter 40 as in reality the concluding and hopeful answer to the decree of exile in chapter 39?⁵²

⁵¹ Hjelm, *Jerusalem's Rise*, 109.

⁵² Peter Ackroyd, "The Death of Hezekiah – A Pointer to the Future?," in *Studies in the Religious Tradition*, 172-80 (176). See also, Melugin, *Formation of Isaiah*, 176-78.

Because of the literary placement of the Hezekiah narrative in the context of Isaiah, the account functions symbolically to assure Israel that her restoration from exile is close at hand. The closing words of Hezekiah in response to Isaiah's oracle thus become a promise for those awaiting restoration: "There will be peace and security in my days" (Isa 39:8).

The Function of the Hezekiah Narrative in the Book of Kings

Contextualization of the Hezekiah Narrative

The Hezekiah narrative in 2 Kings 18-20, though nearly identical to the version in Isa 36-39, has a different function created through its literary context and through the thematically significant non-synoptic additions to the account. The story is situated amongst a cluster of narratives which create a trajectory towards Judah's eventual downfall at the hands of Babylon. In contrast to the function of the narrative in Isaiah which adumbrates the nation's restoration from exile, the period of Hezekiah's reign in the context of 2 Kings depicts a temporary pause in the deterioration of Judah in which threats from within and without are suspended by God's intervening mercy. The three non-synoptic segments in 2 Kgs 18:1-8, 9-12, 14-16 each play a role in generating the distinct function of the Hezekiah narrative in the context of 2 Kings.

The non-synoptic notice of the fall of Samaria in 2 Kgs 18:9-12 provides an initial indication of the function of the Hezekiah narrative in the context of 2 Kings. As early as the first king who ruled over the divided monarchy in the north, the prophetic shadow of doom hung over the kingdom of Israel. In 1 Kgs 13:34 the total destruction of the house of Jeroboam is predicted and in 1 Kgs 14:10-16 that prophecy is reiterated and augmented by the notification that God will also, "root up Israel out

of this good land that he gave to their fathers and scatter them beyond the Euphrates...because of the sins of Jeroboam” (1 Kgs 14:15-16). Repeated reference to Jeroboam, whom all successive kings imitate, functions as a symbolic reminder of Israel’s destiny.⁵³ Ultimately Israel’s persistence in “walking in all the sins that Jeroboam did” results in them being “removed out of the sight of the LORD,” which is a reference to exile: “The LORD was very angry with Israel and removed them out of his sight, וַיִּתְּאֲנֶף יְהוָה מְאֹד בְּיִשְׂרָאֵל וַיִּסְרֶם מֵעַל פָּנָיו (2 Kgs 17:18) and “The people of Israel walked in all the sins that Jeroboam did. They did not depart from them, until the LORD removed Israel out of his sight...So Israel was exiled from their own land to Assyria until this day, וַיִּלְכּוּ בְנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל בְּכָל-חַטָּאוֹת יִרְבְּעָם אֲשֶׁר עָשָׂה לֹא-סָרוּ מִמֶּנָּה: עַד (2 Kgs 17:22-23).

In contrast, throughout most of Samuel-Kings, the Deuteronomist is comparatively sympathetic in his portrayal of Judean kings and willing to exonerate their offences, using the phrase “for the sake of David my servant, לְמַעַן דָּוִד עַבְדִּי” to allude to God’s promise of an eternal dynasty to David in 2 Sam 7.⁵⁴ However, by the

⁵³ With only minor exceptions, every king of Israel is likened to Jeroboam (1 Kgs 15:26, 34; 16:19, 25-6, 30-31, 33; 22:52; 2 Kgs 3:3; 10:29, 31; 13:2, 11; 14:24; 15:9, 18, 24, 28) and the houses of Baasha (1 Kgs 16:2-4) and Ahab (1 Kgs 21:21-22; 2 Kgs 9:8-10) are warned that their own houses will become “like the house of Jeroboam the son of Nebat” Steven McKenzie discerns a patterning in the evaluation of the first eight kings (Jeroboam through Joram/Jehoram) who “walk in the way of Jeroboam” and of the second eight kings (Jehu through Pekah) who “do not depart from the sin of Jeroboam,” “The Books of Kings in the Deuteronomistic History,” in *The History of Israel's Traditions: The Heritage of Martin Noth*, ed. Steven L. McKenzie and M. Patrick Graham, JSOTSup 82 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1994), 281-307. For an alternative patterning see Hjelm, *Jerusalem's Rise*, 50-54. The Israelite kings who do not receive a typical judgement formulae are: Elah, who is closely aligned with his father Baasha who conforms to the ways of Jeroboam (1 Kgs 16:2-4, 11-13); Shallum, who functions as the means by which the prophecy of Jehu’s four-generation dynasty is fulfilled (2 Kgs 10:30; 15:12) and only reigns for one month, and Hoshea, the last king of Israel, who is not as evil as his predecessors, but who nevertheless is implicated in the sins of Jeroboam (2 Kgs 17:22-23).

⁵⁴ E.g., whereas Jeroboam’s idolatry sets Israel on an inescapable course towards judgment, his Judean contemporaries Rehoboam and Abijam, in spite of their similar unprecedented idolatry (1 Kgs 14:21-24; 15:3), do not bring condemnation on Judah because “for David’s sake the LORD his God

end of 2 Kings the confidence in Judah's ongoing preservation is challenged. In 2 Kgs 17, a passage reflecting on the fall of the Northern Kingdom, a revealing parallel is drawn between Israel and Judah who, "also did not keep the commandments of the LORD their God, but walked in the customs that Israel had introduced, גַּם־יְהוּדָה לֹא, "שָׁמַר אֶת־מִצְוֹת יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵיהֶם וַיֵּלְכוּ בַּחֲקֹת יִשְׂרָאֵל אֲשֶׁר עָשׂוּ: (2 Kgs 17:19).⁵⁵ This is followed by prophecies that God's punishment will fall on Judah in a manner similar to that of Israel: "I will stretch over Jerusalem the measuring line of Samaria, וְנָטִיתִי קֶן שְׁמֶרֶן" (2 Kgs 21:13) and "I will remove Judah also out of my sight, as I have removed Israel, אֶת־יִשְׂרָאֵל, אֶת־יְהוּדָה אֲסִיר מֵעַל פְּנֵי כַּאֲשֶׁר הִסְרֹתִי אֶת־יִשְׂרָאֵל, (2 Kgs 23:27). This language of exile as "removal out of God's sight" (2 Kgs 17:18, 23; 23:27) is again used to describe Judah's captivity in 2 Kgs 24:20: "For because of the anger of the LORD it came to the point in Jerusalem and Judah that he removed them out of his sight, כִּי עַל־אִף יְהוָה הָיְתָה בִּירוּשָׁלַם וּבִיהוּדָה עַד־הִשְׁלֹכוֹ אֹתָם מֵעַל פְּנֵי, This reflects a discernable effort on the part of the narrator to pattern Judah's exile after that of Israel's. Additionally, the portrayals of Manasseh and Josiah are typologically

gave him a lamp in Jerusalem, setting up his son after him, and establishing Jerusalem, because David did what was right in the eyes of the LORD" (1 Kgs 15:4-5). Similarly, the Judean kings Jehoram and Ahaziah, who imitate the sons of Ahab both in name and in deed (2 Kgs 8:17, 27), are not included in God's condemnation of the house of Ahab, but are preserved, "for the sake of David his servant, since he promised to give a lamp to him and to his sons forever" (2 Kgs 8:19).

⁵⁵ Gordon McConville, "Narrative and Meaning in the Book of Kings," *Bib* 70 (1989): 31-49 (41). McConville finds other forewarnings of Judah's eventual collapse in the compromised circumstances surrounding the establishment of the kingship (1 Sam 8:7-18) and the temple (2 Sam 24:15-25), the sin which characterizes the reign of every king, including David (2 Sam 11:1-12:15) and Solomon (1 Kgs 11:1-8), the narrators silence with regard to the Davidic promise after 2 Kgs 8:19, and the inability of any king's reforms to effect permanent change.

patterned after Ahab;⁵⁶ and the description of Jerusalem's fall (2 Kgs 21:2-15) carries literary overtones with the account of Samaria's fall (2 Kgs 17).⁵⁷

The narrative of Hezekiah is surrounded by this portrayal of Judah's downward spiral toward judgment, signifying the perilous circumstances of his reign. This juxtaposition creates a correspondence between the fate of Samaria at the hands of the Assyrians and the Assyrian threat that Jerusalem faces under Hezekiah. Preceding the Hezekiah narrative is a detailed description of the fall of Samaria (2 Kgs 17) which is reiterated only a few verses later within the Hezekiah narrative with the non-synoptic insertion in 2 Kgs 18:9-12.⁵⁸ Assyria's advance against Judah is then introduced with verbal and syntactical overtones to the siege on Samaria:

In the fourth year of King Hezekiah...Shalmaneser king of Assyria came up against Samaria and besieged it, and at the end of three years he took it, וַיְהִי בִשְׁנָה הָרְבִיעִית לְמֶלֶךְ חֲזַקְיָהוּ...עָלָה שַׁלְמַנְאֶסֶר מֶלֶךְ-אַשּׁוּר עַל-שָׁמְרוֹן וַיִּצֹר עָלֶיהָ: וַיִּלְכְּדָהּ מֶלֶךְ אַשּׁוּר עָלָה סִנְחַרִּיב מֶלֶךְ-אַשּׁוּר עַל כָּל עָרֵי יְהוּדָה הַבְּצֻרוֹת וַיִּתְּפָשׂם: (2 Kgs 18:9-10)

In the fourteenth year of King Hezekiah, Sennacherib king of Assyria came up against all the fortified cities of Judah and took them, וּבְאַרְבַּע עָשָׂרָה שָׁנָה לְמֶלֶךְ וַיִּבָּא חֲזַקְיָהוּ עָלָה סִנְחַרִּיב מֶלֶךְ-אַשּׁוּר עַל כָּל עָרֵי יְהוּדָה הַבְּצֻרוֹת וַיִּתְּפָשׂם: (2 Kgs 18:13)

With this repetition, the reader is prepared to see Judah fall at the hands of Assyria in the same way that Samaria's fall is described in the immediately preceding passages. Beyond the dramatic tension that is created by this juxtaposition of Samaria's

⁵⁶ Iain Provan, *1 & 2 Kings*, OTG (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1997), 266-77.

⁵⁷ Cross, *Canaanite Myth*, 285-89; Oded Lipschits, *The Fall and Rise of Jerusalem: Judah under Babylonian Rule* (Winona Lake, Indiana: Eisenbrauns, 2005), 291. *Contra* Hjelm who argues that a programmatic legitimization of Judah over Israel is presented in the final chapters of 2 Kings, *Jerusalem's Rise*, 84-87.

⁵⁸ As John Hull puts it, this reiteration "lets the reader know what is at stake...The repetition of disaster that has happened during this very reign, prepares the reader for the spirit of what is to follow. The invasion will be a *real* crisis," "Hezekiah - Saint and Sinner: A Conceptual and Contextual Narrative Analysis of 2 Kings 18-20," (PhD thesis; The Claremont Graduate School, 1994), 248-49, quoted in Bostock, *Portrayal of Trust*, 40.

downfall and Sennacherib's invasion of Judah is the theological theme that Judah is on course to imitate Israel, as foreshadowed in 2 Kgs 17:19.

On the other hand, this juxtaposition also highlights a crucial contrast between Israel and Judah during the reign of Hezekiah: whereas Israel was destroyed “because they did not obey the voice of the LORD their God but transgressed his covenant, even all that Moses the servant of the LORD commanded, **עַל אֲשֶׁר לֹא־שָׁמְעוּ בְּקוֹל יְהוָה**, **וַיַּעֲבְרוּ אֶת־בְּרִיתוֹ אֶת כָּל־אֲשֶׁר צִוָּה מֹשֶׁה עֶבֶד יְהוָה**” (2 Kgs 18:12), Hezekiah “held fast to the LORD. He did not depart from following him, but kept the commandments that the LORD commanded Moses, **וַיִּדְבֶּק בְּיהוָה לֹא־סָר מֵאַחֲרָיו וַיִּשְׁמַר מִצְוֹתָיו אֲשֶׁר־צִוָּה**, **יְהוָה אֱת־מֹשֶׁה**:” (2 Kgs 18:6).⁵⁹ And in contrast to the Israelite King Hoshea who relied on Egypt for protection (2 Kgs 17:4), Hezekiah is portrayed as trusting only in the LORD to defend the city (2 Kgs 18:22, 30; 19:10, 19). As a result, Judah's disaster is postponed and Jerusalem is preserved with the declaration that God will “defend this city to save it, for my own sake and for the sake of my servant David, **וַיִּגְנוֹתִי אֶל־הָעִיר**, **הַזֹּאת לְהוֹשִׁיעָהּ לְמַעַנִּי וּלְמַעַן דָּוִד עַבְדִּי**:” (2 Kgs 19:34).

A central ingredient in the 2 Kings version of the Hezekiah narrative which emphasizes this theme of delayed judgment is the contrast drawn between Ahaz and Hezekiah in the context of the book of Kings. As in the book of Isaiah, Ahaz and Hezekiah are presented as corresponding and contrasting figures.⁶⁰ But whereas in Isaiah the two kings represent exile and restoration, in the book of 2 Kings the correlation between the two kings emphasizes Judah's inability to allay, through their

⁵⁹ Hjelm, *Jerusalem's Rise*, 32.

⁶⁰ A structural and linguistic comparison of 2 Kgs 16:5-7 and 2 Kgs 18:13-16 is provided by Seitz, *Zion's Final Destiny*, 57.

own resources, the threats posed by foreign nations, while also underscoring God's intervention on Judah's behalf in delaying their eventual downfall.

Contrast between Ahaz and Hezekiah

A prominent feature of the schematized portrayal of Ahaz and Hezekiah in 2 Kings is the Deuteronomistic judgment which introduces each king's reign, a feature which is a plus in the 2 Kings account of Hezekiah (2 Kgs 18:1-8) over and against the Isaiah version. In these judgments, the assessment of each king takes the form of a comparison to preceding kings⁶¹ and a statement about the existence of "high places" and idolatry during that king's reign.⁶² In the case of Ahaz and Hezekiah, both kings are evaluated based on their conformity to the example of David. The account of Hezekiah's reign begins with the statement, "He did what was right in the eyes of the LORD, according to all that David his father had done, וַיַּעַשׂ הַיֵּשֶׁר הַיְיָשֵׁר בְּעֵינֵי יְהוָה כָּל כָּל (2 Kgs 18:3). David functions as the prototype of the king who does not stray from the commandments and does what is right in God's eyes (1 Kgs 9:4; 14:8; 15:5). In addition to Hezekiah, only two other Judean kings are evaluated as being "like David": Asa (1 Kgs 15:11-12) and Josiah (2 Kgs 22:2). Each of these kings is also credited with cultic purification in varying degrees. Asa removed the

⁶¹ Such comparison is either positive or negative depending on the relative virtue of the preceding king. Positive evaluations are achieved for Jehoshaphat, who is likened to Asa (1 Kgs 22:43, cf. 15:11-12); Amaziah, who is likened to Joash/Jehoash (2 Kgs 14:3, cf. 12:3); Azariah/Uzziah, who is likened to Amaziah (2 Kgs 15:3); and Jotham, who is likened to Uzziah (2 Kgs 15:34). Negative evaluations result from the comparison of Abijah to Rehoboam (1 Kgs 15:3, cf. 14:22); Amon to Manasseh (2 Kgs 21:20, cf. 21:2-9); and Jehoiachin and Zedekiah to Jehoiakim (2 Kgs 24:9, 19, cf. 23:37). Jehoahaz and Jehoiakim are negatively compared to "the fathers" (2 Kgs 23:32, 37). Four kings are negatively equated with Ahab or the kings of Israel in general: Jehoram (2 Kgs 8:18), Ahaziah (2 Kgs 8:27), Ahaz (2 Kgs 16:3), and Manasseh (2 Kgs 21:3).

⁶² "High places" in the DtrH may signify the failure of kings to centralize worship, see Iain Provan, *Hezekiah and the Books of Kings*, BZAW 172 (Berlin, New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1988), 57-65, 82-90. In itself, the existence of high places does not merit a negative appraisal (1 Kgs 15:11-14; 22:43; 2 Kgs 12:2-3; 14:3-4; 15:3-4, 34-35). Idolatry, however, which is described as "the sins of Jeroboam," "the ways of the kings of Israel," and "the practices of the nations," consistently incriminates a king. The association of high places with idolatry may be a component of later editing of the DtrH.

idols but not the high places (1 Kgs 15:12-14); Hezekiah removed both the idols and the high places (2 Kgs 18:4); and Josiah removed the idols and high places, repaired the temple, and reinstituted proper cultic worship (2 Kgs 23:4-24). In addition, Hezekiah and Josiah are designated with “insurpassability” in their obedience to the Law of Moses (2 Kgs 18:5-6; 23:25).⁶³ Other features heighten the correspondence specifically between Hezekiah and David in the book of Kings. Only of David and Hezekiah is it said, “The LORD was with him, **וְהָיָה יְהוָה עִמּוֹ**” (1 Sam 16:18; 18:12, 14; 2 Sam 5:10; 2 Kgs 18:7) and, “Wherever he went out he prospered, **בְּכָל אֲשֶׁר-יֵצֵא** **וַיִּשְׁכַּל**” (1 Sam 18:5, 14, 15, 30; 2 Kgs 18:7).⁶⁴ Hezekiah’s defeat of the Philistines (2 Kgs 18:8) also invokes an association with David (1 Sam 18:27; 19:8; 2 Sam 8:1).⁶⁵ Each of these elements is a plus in 2 Kings over Isaiah and serves the purpose of connecting the Hezekiah narrative to the surrounding context in the book of Kings.

In contrast to the 2 Kings portrayal of Hezekiah in terms resembling David, Ahaz is described in 2 Kings negatively in relation to David: “He did not do right in the eyes of the LORD like David his father had done, **וְלֹא-עָשָׂה הַיֵּשֶׁר בְּעֵינֵי יְהוָה אֱלֹהָיו**”

⁶³ An interpretive puzzle is created by these statements. Of Hezekiah it is said that “there was none like him among all the kings of Judah *after him*” (2 Kgs 18:5, emphasis added) and of Josiah, “*Before him* there was no king like him” (2 Kgs 23:25, emphasis added). A “Hezekiah recension” of the DtrH provides one possible solution to the problem, see Boyd W. Barrick, “On the ‘Removal of the “High Places” in 1-2 Kings,” *Bib* 55 (1974): 257-59; Provan, *Hezekiah*; Paul-Eugène Dion, “Sennacherib’s Expedition to Palestine,” *ET* 20 (1989): 5-25. Alternatively, the expression may be a familiar ANE rhetorical device, see Botha, “No King Like Him...” However, the prominence of the theme of trust in the Hezekiah narrative substantiates the contention that the kings are unsurpassable in different ways: Hezekiah for his trust and Josiah for turning to the LORD. This solution to the problem is propounded by Carl Friedrich Keil, *Biblical Commentary on the Old Testament: The Books of the Kings*, trans. James Martin (Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1872), 82; Klaus Dietrich Fricke, *Das Zweite Buch von den Königen*, BAT 12.2 (Stuttgart: Calwer, 1972), 335; Gerald E. Gerbrandt, *Kingship According to the Deuteronomistic History*, SBLDS 87 (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1986), 53; Knoppers, “There was None Like Him.”

⁶⁴ Provan, *Hezekiah*, 117.

⁶⁵ Ibid. This non-synoptic notice, in addition to creating an association between Hezekiah and David, also produces a contrast between Hezekiah and the sins of Israel. Whereas Hezekiah smote the Philistines “from watchtower to fortified city” (2 Kgs 18:8), the Israelites built high places, “from watchtower to fortified city” (2 Kgs 17:9). These are the only two occurrences of this phrase in the entire Hebrew Bible.

:”בְּדוֹד אָבִיו:” (2 Kgs 16:2). Furthermore, Ahaz agrees to serve the king of Assyria in exchange for protection, indicating his true family allegiance: “I am your servant and your son, עֶבְדְּךָ וּבִנְךָ אֲנִי” (2 Kgs 16:7). Hezekiah, in contrast, “rebelled against the king of Assyria and would not serve him, וְיִמְרֹד בְּמֶלֶךְ-אַשּׁוּר וְלֹא עֲבָדוֹ:” (2 Kgs 18:7). Ahaz introduces foreign cultic implements into the temple (2 Kgs 16:10-16) while Hezekiah is the first king of Judah to remove the high places and other illegitimate objects of cultic worship which had existed as far back as the time of Moses (2 Kgs 18:4). Ahaz exceeds the evil even of the Israelite kings by resorting to and surpassing the practices of the nations “whom the LORD drove out before the people of Israel” (2 Kgs 16:3). The absence of familial resemblance between Ahaz and Hezekiah is further implied in Ahaz’s rejection of his own blood relations when he burns his sons as offerings (2 Kgs 16:3; 21:6). Once again, these features of the portrayals of Ahaz and Hezekiah are absent from the corresponding narratives in the context of Isaiah, highlighting the distinct significance assigned to them in the 2 Kings account. The portrayal of Ahaz explains why Judah is deserving of God’s judgment while the portrayal of Hezekiah illustrates God’s prolonged mercy in postponing judgment.

The final non-synoptic notice in 2 Kgs 18:14-16 of Hezekiah’s capitulation to Sennacherib further emphasizes the contrast between Hezekiah and Ahaz and the theme of delayed judgment during Hezekiah’s reign. The seemingly disruptive effect of Hezekiah’s tribute at this point in the narrative has been used to argue that this material represents both a distinct source and indicates the priority of the narrative in the context of 2 Kings. From the source-critical side, the seamless narrative flow

which would result from the removal of verses 14-16⁶⁶ and the modified form of Hezekiah's name which appears in those verses⁶⁷ has generated the thesis that 2 Kgs 18:14-16 was originally an independent notice ("Account A") to which the expanded story (2 Kgs 18:17-19:37 = "Account B") was added.⁶⁸ Those who presume from 2 Kgs 18:14-16 that the 2 Kings version of the Hezekiah narrative preceded that of Isaiah do so based on the smoother reading which results from the removal of the notice⁶⁹ and the subsequent absence of the segment from 2 Chronicles.⁷⁰ However, the intrusive nature of the notice of Hezekiah's capitulation to Sennacherib may be used to argue in the opposite direction, revealing that it is an addition to the otherwise

⁶⁶ The scope of the insertion is actually a matter of ongoing debate. Some opt for the unity of 2 Kgs 18:13-16, arguing on source-critical grounds that vv. 14-16 would have been unlikely to stand alone without an introduction, and whereas v. 13 and v. 14 flow evenly together, v. 16 and v. 17 do not, Childs, *Assyrian Crisis*; Hans Wildberger, "Die Rede des Rabsake vor Jerusalem," *TZ* 35 (1979), 35-47.

⁶⁷ In the Leningrad codex B 19A, taken up by BHK3 and BHS, and in all Kennicott manuscripts dating from before 1200 CE, a shorter form of Hezekiah's name, הִזְקִיָּה, appears in 2 Kgs 18:14-16; cf. הִזְקִיָּהוּ in v. 17. However, in the Aleppo codex and in 22 later Kennicott manuscripts, the short form, הִזְקִיָּה, appears in 2 Kgs 18:13 and also in 2 Kgs 18:1, 10. This is discussed by Stig Norin, "An Important Kennicott Reading in 2 Kings XVIII 13," *VT* 32 (1982), 337.

⁶⁸ This hypothesis was first put forward by Gesenius, *Philologisch-kritischer*. A key component of this thesis is the assumption that 2 Kgs 18:14-16 presents a more historically reliable portrait of the events of 701 BCE than the surrounding narrative in 2 Kgs 18-19 based on its corroboration with the Assyrian Annals which also state that Hezekiah paid tribute to Sennacherib. In this vein, John Bright asserts that 2 Kgs 18:14-16 "parallels perfectly" the Assyrian records and that "no mentionable conflict exists between the two." Bright, *History of Israel*, 282-87, see also 267-71. However, discrepancies between the depiction in 2 Kgs 18:14-16 and the Assyrian Annals are pointed out by John B. Geyer, "2 Kings XVIII 14-16 and the Annals of Sennacherib," *VT* 21 (1971): 604-06; Christopher R. Seitz, "Account A and the Annals of Sennacherib: A Reassessment," *JSOT* 58 (1993): 47-57; idem, *Zion's Final Destiny*, 51-66. Bernhard Stade built on Gesenius' thesis that the narrative is comprised of Accounts A and B by conjecturing further that at least two distinct strands of tradition are spliced together in Account B without being fully integrated: 2 Kgs 18:17-19:9a, 36-37; ("Account B1") and 2 Kgs 19:9b-35 ("Account B2"). Support for this thesis is derived from the repetition in structure and content of material in Account B and the lack of integration of 2 Kgs 19:9a/Isa 37:9a in the flow of the narrative. See Stade, "Miscellen." Debate continues regarding the proper ending of B1; the observed deficiencies in each separated strand; and the presence of additional independent literary units (e.g. 2 Kgs 19:21-28; 29-31). For overviews of the discussion, see Childs, *Assyrian Crisis*, 73-76; Seitz, *Zion's Final Destiny*, 66-72.

⁶⁹ Isa 36:1 states that "Sennacherib king of Assyria came up against all the fortified cities of Judah and took them." This statement is interrupted in 2 Kings with notice of Hezekiah's capitulation, but in Isaiah the logic of the introduction is continued immediately in Isa 36:2: "And the king of Assyria sent the Rabshakeh from Lachish to King Hezekiah at Jerusalem, with a great army." Brevard Childs' suggestion that the omission in Isaiah can be attributed not to editorial improvement but to scribal error – "A case of haplography was caused by the recurrence of the identical verb at the beginning of vv. 14 and 17" – has been adopted by few scholars, *Assyrian Crisis*, 69-70, n 1.

⁷⁰ Interestingly, this observation presupposes the Chronicler's reliance on the Isaianic version of the Hezekiah narrative.

seamless version presented in Isaiah.⁷¹ Supporting this view is the observation that plundering the Jerusalem temple to pay a foreign king is a prominent motif throughout the book of Kings.⁷² More significantly, it is a parallel feature in the portrayals of Ahaz and Hezekiah in 2 Kings which is not present in Isaiah's version. Here again is support for the hypothesis that the Hezekiah narrative has been redacted from its presentation in Isaiah in order to fit cohesively into the wider context of 2 Kings.

Closer examination of the plundering of the temple in the book of Kings reveals the significance of the 2 Kgs 18:14-16 insertion. Eight times in the book of Kings the temple is despoiled, though different circumstances surround each occurrence. In four cases the temple treasures are taken as booty by an invading king,⁷³ in two cases a Judean king uses the temple treasures to bribe a foreign king in exchange for protection from another nation,⁷⁴ and on two occasions the temple treasures are used to pay off a foreign king to prevent him from invading Jerusalem.⁷⁵ The plundering of the temple does not appear to be a factor in the positive or negative assessment of a king;⁷⁶ in half of the cases, the king is nevertheless described as doing

⁷¹ For example, Iain Provan and Christopher Seitz suggest that the notice was added by a later editor after the fall of Judah in an attempt to "tone down the rather exaggerated picture of Hezekiah." Provan, *Hezekiah*, 122, n. 82; Seitz, *Zion's Final Destiny*, 160-61, 187.

⁷² Long, *2 Kings*, 205.

⁷³ Shishak of Egypt during the reign of Rehoboam (1 Kgs 14:25-26); Jehoash of Israel during the reign of Amaziah (2 Kgs 14:13-14); and Nebuchadnezzar of Babylon during the reigns of Jehoiachin (2 Kgs 24:10-13) and Zedekiah (2 Kgs 25:13-17).

⁷⁴ Asa bribes Ben-hadad of Syria for protection from Baasha of Israel (1 Kgs 15:16-22) and Ahaz bribes Tiglath-pileser of Assyria for protection from Rezin of Syria and Pekah of Israel (2 Kgs 16:7-9).

⁷⁵ Jehoash pays the Syrian king Hazael (2 Kgs 12:18) and Hezekiah pays the Assyrian king Sennacherib (2 Kgs 18:14-16). Ingrid Hjelm observes that there is an ABCABCA patterning in the accounts: (A) the temple is robbed (she does not include the occurrence during Jehoiachin's reign), (B) the temple is plundered for the sake of a bribe, and (C) the temple is plundered to prevent invasion, *Jerusalem's Rise*, 42-43, n. 59. See also the analyses by Nadav Na'aman, "The Deuteronomist and Voluntary Servitude to Foreign Powers," *JSOT* 65 (1995): 37-53; Bostock, *Portrayal of Trust*, 47.

⁷⁶ *Contra* the assertion by E. Theodore Mullen, "Crime and Punishment: The Sins of the King and the Despoilation of the Treasuries," *CBQ* 54 (1992): 231-48, esp. 247. Cf. the remarks by Na'aman, "Voluntary Servitude," 44, n. 18; Bostock, *Portrayal of Trust*, 47; Evans, *Invasion of Sennacherib*, 126-29.

“right in the eyes of the LORD, הַיֵּשֶׁר בְּעֵינֵי יְהוָה.”⁷⁷ Instead, the motif of the pillaging of the temple seems to be related to the security it obtains on Jerusalem’s behalf. When Asa and Ahaz use the temple treasuries as a means of purchasing protection from an invading nation, the third-party king “listens” and conquers Jerusalem’s attacker (1 Kgs 15:20; 2 Kgs 16:9). Similarly, as a result of Jehoash’s payment to Hazael, the Syrian king “went away from Jerusalem” (2 Kgs 12:18). However, the Hezekiah narrative adds a unique twist to the motif in that the plundering of the temple does not avert the threat as intended. Hezekiah pays a tribute to Sennacherib but in return the king of Assyria continues his advance on the city (2 Kgs 18:17).

The literary effect of Hezekiah’s payment to Sennacherib is further illuminated by the contrasting portrayals of Ahaz and Hezekiah. Both accounts introduce a threatened invasion and the payment of tribute to the king of Assyria, but when Syria and Israel “came up, יַעֲלֶה” against Ahaz, they “could not conquer him, וְלֹא יָבִלּוּ לְהִלָּחֵם” (2 Kgs 16:5) whereas during Hezekiah’s reign, Assyria “came up against all the fortified cities of Judah and took them, עָלָה...עַל כָּל-עָרֵי יְהוּדָה הַבְּצֻרוֹת” (2 Kgs 18:13). These contrasting outcomes induce both kings to pay tribute to the king of Assyria, but only for Hezekiah is the payment in response to a real threat. According to the narrative portrayal, Ahaz bribes Tiglath-pileser and pledges his allegiance to Assyria *after* the threat to Jerusalem has already been averted (2 Kgs 16:7). As a result of this unnecessary capitulation, Hezekiah apparently inherits a subservient relationship to Assyria, as implied by the notice that he initially “rebelled

⁷⁷ Four kings are given a positive assessment: Asa (1 Kgs 15:11); Jehoash (2 Kgs 12:2); Amaziah (2 Kgs 14:3); and Hezekiah (2 Kgs 18:3). Four kings are evaluated negatively: Rehoboam (1 Kgs 14:22); Ahaz (2 Kgs 16:2); Jehoiachin (2 Kgs 24:9); and Zedekiah (2 Kgs 24:19).

against the king of Assyria and would not serve him” (2 Kgs 18:17).⁷⁸ Also inherited by Hezekiah is an impoverished state: Ahaz presents treasures of silver and gold from the temple and palace to the king of Assyria (2 Kgs 16:8) but for Hezekiah, only silver remains in the temple and palace treasuries (2 Kgs 18:15). He is forced to strip the gold from the doors and doorposts in order to make the required payment to the Assyrian king (2 Kgs 18:16).⁷⁹ These details of Hezekiah’s capitulation, therefore, cast *Ahaz* in a negative light for pillaging the city to secure Assyria’s favour.⁸⁰

As a result of the contrast obtained between Ahaz and Hezekiah through the non-synoptic notice of Hezekiah’s capitulation to Sennacherib in 2 Kgs 18:14-16, it is clear that the segment is neither intrusive nor ill-fitting in the overall narrative but serves a distinct theological purpose.⁸¹ Hezekiah’s payment of tribute to the king of Assyria, contrasted with that of Ahaz, emphasizes the theme that capitulation and

⁷⁸ That the notice of Hezekiah’s rebellion is portrayed positively by the narrator is confirmed by the fact that this statement is introduced with the declaration, “the LORD was with him; wherever he went out, he prospered.” Regarding the apparent contradiction between Hezekiah’s rebellion and capitulation to the king of Assyria (2 Kgs 18:7, 14-16), Richard Hess points out that, according to the narrative chronology eleven years may have elapsed between the two circumstances (2 Kgs 18:1, 13). Richard Hess, “Hezekiah and Sennacherib in 2 Kings 18-20,” in *Zion, City of Our God*, ed. Richard Hess and Gordon Wenham (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1999), 23-41 (38).

⁷⁹ Compare the suggestion by Evans that Hezekiah’s rebellion mentioned in 2 Kgs 18:7 is a description of his refusal to pay Sennacherib the required amount of gold in addition to silver. Evans, *Invasion of Sennacherib*, 143-51.

⁸⁰ In a similar vein, Christopher Seitz suggests that the inclusion of 2 Kgs 18:14-16 provides a more telling portrayal of *Sennacherib* than of Hezekiah: “[It] serves to underscore the thoroughly untrustworthy character of the king of Assyria, who receives tribute from Hezekiah and proceeds to press the attack further,” “Account A,” 56. Cf. David Bostock who suggests that the narrative illustrates Sennacherib’s presumption which nevertheless allows God’s sovereignty to be displayed, *Portrayal of Trust*, 50.

⁸¹ Others who argue for the coherence of the notice of Hezekiah’s capitulation in the context of the Hezekiah narrative offer the following interpretations of the segment: 1) 2 Kgs 18:14-16 is an anticipatory summary of the entire Assyrian campaign. Ackroyd, “The Biblical Interpretation of the Reigns of Ahaz and Hezekiah,” in *Studies in the Religious Tradition*, 181-95 (183); Gershon Galil, “Sennacherib Versus Hezekiah: A New Look at the Assyrian Campaign to the West,” *Zion* 53 (1988): 1-12; and 2) 2 Kgs 18:14-16 is an indispensable feature in the dramatic tension of the narrative. Christoph Hardmeier, *Prophetie im Streit vor dem Untergang Judas: Erzählkommunikative Studien zur Entstehungssituation der Jesaja- und Jeremiaerzählungen in II Reg 18-20 und Jer 37-40*, BZAW 197 (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1990); 154-55; Arie van der Kooij, “The Story of Hezekiah and Sennacherib (2 Kings 18-19): A Sample of Ancient Historiography,” in *Past, Present, Future: The Deuteronomistic History and the Prophets*, ed. Johannes C. de Moor and Harry F. van Rooy (Leiden: Brill, 2000), 107-19; Bostock, *Portrayal of Trust*, 46, 50.

payment of tribute to foreign nations do not ensure protection for Jerusalem.⁸² The protection purchased from the king of Assyria by Ahaz actually introduces the circumstances that lead to Sennacherib's eventual invasion of the city. And Hezekiah's payment of tribute is ineffective in averting the threat. Instead, trust in God alone guarantees the well-being of the city and its inhabitants.

This understanding of the significance of the depiction of Hezekiah paying tribute to Sennacherib is further confirmed by the centrality of the theme of בטח "trust" in the Hezekiah narrative. The usage of בטח in the DtrH generally denotes reliance on human resources or a sense of military security (see its use in Deut 28:52; Jdgs 9:26; 18:7, 10, 27; 20:36). It is only in the account of Hezekiah that it signifies trust *in God*. According to the narrative, Hezekiah's defining characteristic is his "trust in the LORD the God of Israel" to the degree that "there was none like him among all the kings of Judah after him, nor among those who were before him, בִּיהִנֶּה (2 Kgs 18:5). Read in the light of this non-synoptic declaration of Hezekiah's unsurpassable trust, the notice of Hezekiah's failed attempt to avert Sennacherib's assault through payment of tribute reinforces the theme that human resources cannot secure the city's welfare. Assyria's inability to overtake Jerusalem in 701 BCE is attributed solely to God's willingness to suspend judgment on Jerusalem.

This motif of suspended judgment is carried over into the second and third scene of the Hezekiah narrative as well. God heals Hezekiah of his sickness unto death with the assurance, "I will add fifteen years to your life, וְהִסְפַּתִּי עַל־יָמֶיךָ חֲמִשָּׁה

⁸² Galil, "Sennacherib Versus Hezekiah"; Hardmeier, *Prophetie im Streit*.

“עֲשֶׂהָ שָׁנָה” (2 Kgs 20:6) and the repeated declaration, “I will defend this city, for my own sake and for the sake of my servant David, וְגִנוֹתִי עַל־הָעִיר הַזֹּאת לְמַעַנִי וּלְמַעַן דָּוִד, (2 Kgs 20:6, non-synoptic). Similarly, Isaiah’s oracle in the final scene of the Hezekiah narrative (2 Kgs 20:12-19) states that Babylon will one day carry off both treasures and descendants of the king and deport them to Babylon (2 Kgs 20:17-18) but the final word of the narrative is Hezekiah’s recognition that God is choosing to delay judgment during his lifetime: “The word of the LORD that you have spoken is good...Why not, if there will be peace and security in my days?, טוֹב דְּבַר־יְהוָה אֲשֶׁר, (2 Kgs 20:19).⁸³ This theme of God’s mercy in postponing imminent judgment marks a subtle shift in the significance of the contrasting portrayals of Ahaz and Hezekiah in 2 Kings vis-à-vis Isaiah. Whereas 2 Kings portrays God’s salvation during Hezekiah’s reign as a temporary suspension of judgment, Hezekiah’s reign in Isaiah represents the termination of Judah’s captivity and the beginning of restoration.

Within the wider context of the book of Kings, this theme of delayed judgment during Hezekiah’s reign is further emphasized. Again, the sequential arrangement of the scenes plays an important role in the theological significance of the narrative. As in the book of Isaiah, the 2 Kings version of the Hezekiah narrative portrays a transition from Assyrian threat to Babylonian threat. However, unlike Isaiah, where

⁸³ Peter Ackroyd discusses the possible interpretations of this verse, asserting that it can be understood 1) as a smug comment expressing Hezekiah’s relief that he himself will not be touched by the calamity; 2) as a subtle plea that the disaster be diverted; or 3) as an acceptance of the divine pronouncement. Ackroyd convincingly argues for the third alternative, *Babylonian Exile*, 158-59. See also Richard D. Nelson, *First and Second Kings*, Interpretation (Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 1987), 246; Bostock, *Portrayal of Trust*, 135-45. A similar delay is described in Huldah’s oracle to Josiah: “Because your heart was penitent, and you humbled yourself before the LORD...you shall be gathered to your grave in peace, and your eyes shall not see all the disaster that I will bring upon this place” (2 Kgs 22:19-20).

the role of Babylon in the nation's fate has already been adumbrated prior to the depiction of Hezekiah's reign (Isa 13:1-14:23; 21:1-10), in 2 Kings, the third scene of the Hezekiah narrative is the reader's first encounter with Babylon. Furthermore, whereas the book of Isaiah offsets the prophetic oracle of Babylonian captivity in Isa 39:5-7 with promises that the Babylonian avenger will be avenged (Isa 13:17-22; 14:4-23; 21:1-10) and that Judah's term of exile will end (Isa 40:1-5), the same prophetic oracle of doom in 2 Kgs 20:16-18 is followed by further assertions of impending judgment (2 Kgs 21:12-15; 22:20; 23:26; 24:3). In addition, Isaiah's oracle that "all that is in your house, and that which your fathers have stored up till this day, shall be carried to Babylon. Nothing shall be left, says the LORD, וְנָשָׂא כָּל-אֲשֶׁר בְּבֵיתְךָ (2 Kgs 20:17) reappears in the final chapters of 2 Kings which emphasize the removal of "all" the treasures from Jerusalem (כָּל is repeated eight times in 2 Kgs 24:13-16) "as the LORD had proclaimed, כָּאֲשֶׁר דִּבֶּר יְהוָה (2 Kgs 24:13).⁸⁴ As a result, the Hezekiah narrative in the context of 2 Kings explains why Assyria is no longer a threat to Judah,⁸⁵ while also foreshadowing the devastation that Babylon will bring upon the nation.⁸⁶ In so doing, God's justice and mercy are emphasized simultaneously: the reality of Judah's immanent downfall is fortified even as her judgment is temporarily suspended during Hezekiah's reign.

⁸⁴ For a more extensive description of these links, see especially, Ackroyd, "Babylonian Exile," 156-63.

⁸⁵ Paul Evans points out that after Hezekiah's reign, Assyria is never again mentioned as a threat to Judah in 2 Kings, thus highlighting Hezekiah's role as Judah's liberator from Assyrian tyranny, *Invasion of Sennacherib*, 194.

⁸⁶ Klaas Smelik has also suggested that the portrayal of Hezekiah in 2 Kings is purposefully contrasted with that of Zedekiah in order to explain why Babylon succeeded in conquering Jerusalem while Assyria did not, "Distortion of Prophecy," 86.

Conclusion

This examination has demonstrated the effects of editorial shaping and literary contextualization for the significance of the Hezekiah narrative in 2 Kings and Isaiah. The density of links to the book of Isaiah in synoptic portions of the narrative, contrasted with the concentration of links to the book of Kings in non-synoptic portions, persuasively points toward Isaiah as the prior provenance of the account. This is further confirmed through the sequence assigned to the three scenes of the narrative, the portrayal of Hezekiah vis-à-vis his father Ahaz, and the contextualization of the narrative, each of which signifies stronger thematic coherence in the book of Isaiah. It has been observed that each of these features is also present in the 2 Kings version, but it is only through the addition of non-synoptic elements that the narrative is able to function coherently in that context. This strongly suggests that the account was borrowed from the book of Isaiah for its inclusion in 2 Kings. It also illustrates the distinct function assigned to the Hezekiah narrative in each literary context.

Though depicting events of the eighth-century reign of Hezekiah, the account assumes figurative significance in the book of Isaiah with reference to the sixth-century Babylonian exile. A schematized association between Assyria and Babylon, combined with contrasting portrayals of Ahaz and Hezekiah, indicates that the Hezekiah narrative represents Judah's movement from judgment of exile to salvation of restoration. This metaphorical function is further indicated by the inclusion of the non-synoptic prayer of Hezekiah in Isa 38:10-20 which contains linguistic overtones of exile, and by the location of the narrative at the transitional point in the book of Isaiah between chapters adumbrating exile (Isa 1-35) and those looking forward to post-exilic restoration (Isa 40ff).

In the context of 2 Kings, a similar association between Assyria and Babylon, Ahaz and Hezekiah, is present, but with the effect of illustrating God's forbearance in postponing judgment on Judah. This is achieved primarily through the insertion of three segments which are unique to the Deuteronomistic portrayal: the introductory report introducing Hezekiah's reign in 2 Kgs 18:1-8, the notice of Samaria's downfall in 2 Kgs 18:9-12, and the depiction of Hezekiah paying tribute to the king of Assyria in 2 Kgs 18:14-16. The first insertion (2 Kgs 18:1-8) establishes the grounds for the contrast between Hezekiah and Ahaz while also connecting Hezekiah to David for the purpose of emphasizing why God's judgment was delayed during Hezekiah's reign. The reiteration of Samaria's exile in 2 Kgs 18:9-12 serves the purpose of creating a correspondence between the fates of Israel and Judah, intimating that Judah is on an inescapable trajectory toward judgment. Finally, the non-synoptic notice of Hezekiah's capitulation in 2 Kgs 18:14-16 further underscores both of these themes – Hezekiah's faithfulness and Judah's inevitable fate – by illustrating the futility of human resources in assuring protection for the nation.

In the following chapter, it will be seen that the thematic potential of the narrative is extended further by its placement in the context of Chronicles. By infusing restoration themes from the wider book of Isaiah into the historical framework provided by the book of Kings, the Chronicler incorporates features from both 2 Kings and Isaiah into his version of the Hezekiah narrative. The result is a figural portrayal of Hezekiah as the ideal king of Israel's restoration which inspires hope in the aftermath of exile.

Chapter 3

THE HEZEKIAH NARRATIVE IN 2 CHRONICLES 29-32

Despite the vast amount of scholarly attention given to the Hezekiah narrative within the contexts of 2 Kings and Isaiah, significantly less consideration has been devoted to its compositional development, literary dependence, and function in 2 Chronicles. In the following analysis it will be demonstrated that the Chronicler relied on both 2 Kings and Isaiah for his distinct retelling of the Hezekiah tradition. This dependence is evident in the Chronicler's replication of linguistic, sequential, and thematic features from both accounts. The Chronicler retains the sequence of events and the Deuteronomistic framework of the narrative as preserved in 2 Kings and fuses it with themes and images which resemble descriptions of Israel's restoration from exile as conveyed in Isaiah and other literature of the Latter Prophets. For the post-exilic audience of Chronicles, questions have emerged regarding the nature and validity of prophetic promises of restoration. By incorporating themes and motifs from the Latter Prophets, the Chronicler presents Hezekiah and the era of his reign in figural terms, corresponding to prophetic expectations of restoration, thus inspiring renewed hope in the Latter Prophets' vision of a glorious revival of Israel's national and spiritual well-being.

Literary Dependence in 2 Chr 29-32

The difficulty in determining the precise textual version of 2 Kings utilized by the Chronicler has already been emphasized.¹ Nevertheless, the Chronicler's reliance on some form of 2 Kgs 18-20 for his own rendering of the Hezekiah narrative is evident in several ways. First, 2 Chronicles replicates the Deuteronomistic framework of the Hezekiah narrative which includes the introductory and concluding reports from 2 Kings 18:1-3 and 20:20-21. As illustrated in the following tables, comparison of the two framing statements reveals a high degree of textual and structural overlap which makes a strong case for direct quotation. The Chronicler has omitted material which synchronizes Hezekiah's ascension with the reign of the king of Israel (2 Kgs 18:1a) since this does not pertain to his historical portrayal which focuses solely on Judah. This results in minor syntactical alterations which are depicted in italics in the following comparisons.²

¹ See the discussion in Chapter 1, pages 12-15

² In addition to omissions, additions, and alterations, the accounts of Hezekiah in 2 Kings and 2 Chronicles exhibit divergent spellings of people's names, with 2 Kings frequently preferring the shorter alternative. In the verses presented in Tables 3.1 and 3.2, compare the forms of Hezekiah: חֲזַקְיָהּ (2 Kgs 18:1), חֲזַקְיָהּ (2 Kgs 20:20-21), יְחֲזַקְיָהּ (2 Chr 29:1; 32:32-33); Abi/Abijah: אָבִי (2 Kgs 18:2), אֲבִיָּה (2 Chr 29:1); Zechariah: זַכְרְיָהּ (2 Kgs 18:2), זַכְרְיָהּ (2 Chr 29:1); David: דָּוִד (2 Kgs 18:3), דָּוִד (2 Chr 29:2).

Table 3.1: Comparison of the Introductory Report of the Reign of Hezekiah

<u>2 Kgs 18:1-3</u>	<u>2 Chr 29:1-2</u>
וַיְהִי בַשָּׁנָה שְׁלֹשׁ לְהוֹשֵׁעַ בֶּן־אֵלָה מֶלֶךְ יִשְׂרָאֵל מֶלֶךְ חֲזַקְיָה בֶן־אָחָז מֶלֶךְ יְהוּדָה:	יְחִזְקִיָּהוּ מֶלֶךְ
1) <i>In the third year of Hoshea son of Elah, king of Israel, Hezekiah the son of Ahaz, king of Judah, began to reign.</i>	1) Hezekiah began to reign
בְּוַעֲשָׂרִים וְחָמֵשׁ שָׁנָה הָיָה בְּמֶלְכוֹ וַעֲשָׂרִים וַתֵּשַׁע שָׁנָה מֶלֶךְ בִּירוּשָׁלַם וְשֵׁם אִמּוֹ אֲבִי בֶּת־זַכְרְיָה:	בְּוַעֲשָׂרִים וְחָמֵשׁ שָׁנָה וַעֲשָׂרִים וַתֵּשַׁע שָׁנָה מֶלֶךְ בִּירוּשָׁלַם וְשֵׁם אִמּוֹ אֲבִיָּה בֶּת־זַכְרְיָהוּ:
2) <i>He was twenty-five years old when he began to reign, and he reigned twenty-nine years in Jerusalem. His mother's name was Abi the daughter of Zechariah.</i>	when he was twenty-five years old, and he reigned twenty-nine years in Jerusalem. His mother's name was Abijah the daughter of Zechariah.
וַיַּעַשׂ הַיָּשָׁר בְּעֵינֵי יְהוָה כָּל אֲשֶׁר־עָשָׂה דָּוִד אָבִיו:	וַיַּעַשׂ הַיָּשָׁר בְּעֵינֵי יְהוָה כָּל אֲשֶׁר־עָשָׂה דָּוִד אָבִיו:
3) <i>And he did what was right in the eyes of the LORD, according to all that David his father had done.</i>	2) <i>And he did what was right in the eyes of the LORD, according to all that David his father had done.</i>

The Chronicistic adaptation of the Deuteronomistic concluding report likewise exhibits verbal and structural overlap that clearly displays literary dependence. In this context, the Chronicler has replaced the description in 2 Kgs 20:20 of Hezekiah's building improvements with the simple declaration of "his good deeds, וַיַּחֲסִדּוּ" (2 Chr 32:32).³ The Chronicistic account has also altered the name of the written source in a characteristic manner from "the Book of the Chronicles of the Kings of Judah" (2 Kgs 20:20) to "the vision of Isaiah the prophet the son of Amoz in the Book of the Kings of Judah and Israel" (2 Chr 32:32).⁴ Finally, the Chronicler has inserted a non-synoptic description about Hezekiah's burial and the honour which was bestowed

³ See also the insertion of this phrase in the concluding report of Josiah's reign (2 Chr 35:26; cf. 2 Kgs 23:28).

⁴ Similar alterations are observable in 2 Chr 16:11; 20:34; 24:27; 25:26; 27:7; 28:26; 33:18; 35:27; 36:8.

upon him by the inhabitants of Jerusalem. It is a common tendency of the Chronicler to expand the detail of the burial of the Judean kings.⁵

Table 3.2: Comparison of the Concluding Report of the Reign of Hezekiah

<u>2 Kgs 20:20-21</u>	<u>2 Chr 32:32-33</u>
וַיֵּתֶר דְּבָרֵי חֶזְקִיָּהוּ	וַיֵּתֶר יַחְזְקִיָּהוּ
20) The rest of the deeds of Hezekiah	32) Now the rest of the acts of Hezekiah,
	וְחַסְדָּיו
	and his good deeds,
וְכָל-גְּבוּרָתוֹ וְאֲשֶׁר עָשָׂה אֶת-הַבְּרִכָּה וְאֶת-הַתְּעָלָה וַיָּבֵא אֶת-הַמַּיִם הָעִירָה	
and all his might and how he made the pool and the conduit and brought water into the city,	
הֲלֹא־הֵם בְּתוֹבִים בְּחִזְוֹן יִשְׁעִיהוּ בֶן-אֲמוֹץ הַנְּבִיא עַל-סֵפֶר מַלְכֵי-יְהוּדָה וְיִשְׂרָאֵל: יְהוּדָה:	הִנֵּם בְּתוֹבִים בְּחִזְוֹן יִשְׁעִיהוּ בֶן-אֲמוֹץ הַנְּבִיא עַל-סֵפֶר מַלְכֵי-יְהוּדָה וְיִשְׂרָאֵל:
are they not written in the Book of the Chronicles of the Kings of Judah?	behold, they are written in the vision of Isaiah the prophet the son of Amoz, in the Book of the Kings of Judah and Israel.
וַיִּשְׁכַּב חֶזְקִיָּהוּ עִם-אֲבֹתָיו	וַיִּשְׁכַּב יַחְזְקִיָּהוּ עִם-אֲבֹתָיו
21) And Hezekiah slept with his fathers,	33) And Hezekiah slept with his fathers,
	וַיִּקְבְּרֵהוּ בְּמַעְלָה קִבְרֵי בְנֵי-דָוִד וְכָבוֹד עָשׂוּ-לֹוּ בְּמוֹתוֹ כָּל-יְהוּדָה וְיִשְׂרָאֵל יְרוּשָׁלַם
	and they buried him in the upper part of the tombs of the sons of David, and all Judah and the inhabitants of Jerusalem did him honour at his death.
וַיִּמְלֹךְ מְנַשֶּׁה בְּנוֹ תַחְתָּיו:	וַיִּמְלֹךְ מְנַשֶּׁה בְּנוֹ תַחְתָּיו:
and Manasseh his son reigned in his place.	And Manasseh his son reigned in his place.

Structural Comparison of the Hezekiah Narratives

These Deuteronomistic framing reports are among the few passages in 2 Chr 29-32 where the Chronicler directly quotes from a previous biblical account of

⁵ In the Chronicist portrayal, the way in which a king dies or is buried is usually consistent with their portrayal as a faithful or a sinful king. This seems to be a feature of the Chronicler's schematization of the history of Judah. See Rudolph, *Chronikbücher*, xx; Ackroyd, "Death of Hezekiah"; Tomotoshi Sugimoto, "The Chronicler's Techniques in Quoting Samuel-Kings," *AJBI* 6 (1990): 30-70 (54); McKenzie, *1-2 Chronicles*, 356-67; Compare the analysis by Steven Schweitzer who claims that Chronicles actually undermines the tendency to attach status to a king's burial, *Reading Utopia in Chronicles* (New York; London: T & T Clark, 2007), 256-64.

Hezekiah.⁶ However, in addition to replicating these narrative enclosures, the Chronicler also replicates the basic structure of the material preserved in 2 Kings, including some of the segments which are absent in the Isaiah version. In 2 Chronicles, as in 2 Kings, the material is presented according to the following sequence: Hezekiah's cultic reform (2 Kgs 18:4; 2 Chr 29:3-31:21); the Assyrian invasion (2 Kgs 18:13-19:37; 2 Chr 32:1-22); Hezekiah's illness and recovery (2 Kgs 20:1-11; 2 Chr 32:24-26); and the visit from the Babylonian envoys (2 Kgs 20:12-19; 2 Chr 32:31). Since two features of the Chronistic account, the Deuteronomistic regnal resume and the account of Hezekiah's reformation of the cult, are unique features of the portrayal in 2 Kings, it is probable that this material, in a form that resembled the current structure and content of the narrative, functioned as a source for the Chronicler. The strongest structural similarities between 2 Chronicles and Isaiah are seen in the *absence* of certain features which appear in 2 Kings. The Chronicler's omission of the descriptions of Samaria's collapse in 2 Kgs 18:9-12 and of Hezekiah's capitulation to Assyria in 2 Kgs 18:14-16 reflect greater affinity with the Isaianic version of the narrative which likewise does not preserve those details.

A visual comparison of the three biblical portrayals of Hezekiah is provided below.⁷ This panoramic view of the structure of the Hezekiah narrative in 2 Chronicles vis-à-vis 2 Kings and Isaiah demonstrates both the Chronicler's fidelity to the textualized tradition and his creative handling of antecedent material which has the effect of infusing the Hezekiah narrative with fresh significance. As the following table illustrates, the Chronistic account emphasizes Hezekiah's restoration of the cult

⁶ In addition to these framing summaries, the introduction to Hezekiah's illness in 2 Chr 32:24 is a direct quotation of 2 Kgs 20:1//Isa 38:1: "In those days Hezekiah became sick and was at the point of death, [עד-]למוֹת, [וְ]חִזְקִיָּהוּ הָלַךְ בְּיָמֵם הָהֵם חֵלָה." Material in square brackets indicates Chronistic divergence.

⁷ For more extensive synoptic comparisons of the three passages, see Abba Bendavid, ed., *Parallels in the Bible* (Jerusalem: Carta, 1972); James D. Newsome, ed., *A Synoptic Harmony of Samuel, Kings, and Chronicles: With Related Passages from Psalms, Isaiah, Jeremiah, and Ezra* (Grand Rapids: Baker Book House, 1986).

by placing it at the beginning of the narrative, devoting a great deal of space to its description, and inserting speeches into the report (speeches noted in italics). In contrast, the three scenes of the Hezekiah narrative which dominate the 2 Kings and Isaiah versions – the Assyrian invasion, Hezekiah’s illness and recovery, and the visit from the Babylonian envoys – diminish by degrees in the Chronicist portrayal. Nevertheless, the Chronicler maintains the overall sequence of the Hezekiah narrative as preserved in 2 Kings and Isaiah. This represents, in Sara Japhet’s words, “a faithful adherence by the Chronicler to the structure and composition of the original story...: one parallel continuum, broken along the line for omissions and additions.”⁸

⁸ Japhet, *I & II Chronicles*, 913.

Table 3.3: Structural Comparison of the Hezekiah Narratives

<u>Isaiah</u>	<u>2 Kings</u>	<u>2 Chronicles</u>
	18:1-3: Introductory report	29:1-2: Introductory report
		29:3-36: Purification of Temple 29:5-11: <i>First speech:</i> Hezekiah to the Levites 29:31: <i>Second speech:</i> Hezekiah to the Levites
		30:1-27: Celebration of Passover 30:6-9: <i>Third speech:</i> Hezekiah to surrounding tribes in the form of a letter
	18:4: Removal of high places	31:1: Removal of high places
		31:2-19: Organization of the clergy and Temple maintenance
	18:5-8: Positive evaluation of Hezekiah	31:20-21: Positive evaluation of Hezekiah
	18:9-12: Samaria's collapse	
<u>36:1-37:38: Assyrian invasion</u>	<u>18:13-19:37: Assyrian invasion</u>	<u>32:1-21: Assyrian invasion</u>
	18:14-16: Hezekiah pays tribute to Sennacherib	
		32:2-6: Hezekiah's fortification of Jerusalem 32:7-8: <i>Hezekiah's speech of confidence</i> 32:9-19: <i>Sennacherib's speech of terrorization</i> to Hezekiah and the people of Jerusalem
36:2-11: <i>First speech:</i> the Rabshakeh to Hezekiah's messengers 36:12-22: <i>Second speech:</i> the Rabshakeh to the inhabitants of Jerusalem 37:1-8: <i>Hezekiah's appeal</i> and <i>Isaiah's first oracle</i> 37:9-14: <i>Third speech:</i> letter 37:15-35: <i>Hezekiah's appeal</i> and <i>Isaiah's second oracle</i> 37:36-38: Jerusalem delivered	18:17-26: <i>First speech:</i> the Rabshakeh to Hezekiah's messengers 18:27-37: <i>Second speech:</i> the Rabshakeh to the inhabitants of Jerusalem 19:1-8: <i>Hezekiah's appeal</i> and <i>Isaiah's first oracle</i> 19:9-14: <i>Third speech:</i> letter 19:15-34: <i>Hezekiah's appeal</i> and <i>Isaiah's second oracle</i> 19:35-37: Jerusalem delivered	
		32:20: Hezekiah and Isaiah pray 32:21-22: Jerusalem delivered
		32:23: Hezekiah receives tribute from surrounding nations
<u>38:1-22: Hezekiah's illness</u> 38:1: <i>Isaiah's first oracle</i> 38:2-3: <i>Hezekiah's response</i> 38:4-6: <i>Isaiah's second oracle</i> 38:7-8a: <i>Isaiah's third oracle</i> 38:8b-20: <i>Hezekiah's response</i>	<u>20:1-11: Hezekiah's illness</u> 20:1: <i>Isaiah's first oracle</i> 20:2-3: <i>Hezekiah's response</i> 20:4-6: <i>Isaiah's second oracle</i> 20:8: <i>Hezekiah's response</i> 20:9: <i>Isaiah's third oracle</i> 20:10: <i>Hezekiah's response</i>	<u>32:24: Hezekiah's illness</u> summary of the incident

<u>39:1-8: Visit of Babylonians</u> 39:1-2: Hezekiah's reception 39:3: <i>Isaiah's inquiry</i> and <i>Hezekiah's response</i> 39:4: <i>Isaiah's inquiry</i> and <i>Hezekiah's response</i> 39:5-8: <i>Isaiah's oracle</i> and <i>Hezekiah's response</i>	<u>20:12-19: Visit of Babylonians</u> 20:12-13: Hezekiah's reception 20:14: <i>Isaiah's inquiry</i> and <i>Hezekiah's response</i> 20:15: <i>Isaiah's inquiry</i> and <i>Hezekiah's response</i> 20:16-18: <i>Isaiah's oracle</i> and <i>Hezekiah's response</i> 20:20-21: Concluding report	<u>32:25-31: Visit of Babylonians</u> 32:25-26: Hezekiah's pride and repentance; ⁹ 32:27-30: Account of Hezekiah's wealth; 32:31: God tests Hezekiah with the visit from the Babylonian envoys 32:32-33: Concluding report
--	---	---

As this table illustrates, 2 Chr 29-32 generally adheres to the arrangement of the Hezekiah narrative as preserved in both 2 Kings and Isaiah. Nevertheless, the Chronistic portrayal of Hezekiah is undoubtedly an interpretation of the antecedent texts in which certain topics are expanded or deemphasized in accordance with the Chronicler's theological interests and the needs of his audience.¹⁰ The Chronicler redistributes the emphasis of the Hezekiah narrative through omissions, abbreviations, and expansions of the description of Hezekiah's reign. Omitted material includes information pertaining to the Northern Kingdom, including the synchronization notice in 2 Kgs 18:1 and the description of the fall of Samaria in 2 Kgs 18:9-12. Also omitted are the depictions of Hezekiah rebelling (2 Kgs 18:7) and paying tribute to the king of Assyria (2 Kgs 18:14-16), details which serve a specific function within the

⁹ Scholars disagree about whether the ambiguous report in 2 Chr 32:25-26 describes Hezekiah's illness and recovery or the visit from the Babylonian envoys: "25) But Hezekiah did not make return according to the benefit done to him, for his heart was proud. Therefore wrath came upon him and Judah and Jerusalem. 26) But Hezekiah humbled himself for the pride of his heart, both he and the inhabitants of Jerusalem, so that the wrath of the LORD did not come upon them in the days of Hezekiah." Compare the discussions by Japhet, *I & II Chronicles*, 993 and Williamson, *1 and 2 Chronicles*, 386-87. The following features provide stronger support for the view that the notice refers to the visit from the Babylonian envoys, as argued by Williamson: 1) the passage is placed in a position relative to the account of the Babylonian envoys in 2 Kgs 20:12-19 and Isa 39:1-8; 2) the location of the Chronistic summary of Hezekiah's wealth in 2 Chr 32:27-30 corresponds to the statement in 2 Kgs 20:13//Isa 39:2 that "[Hezekiah] showed [the envoys from Babylon] all his treasure house, the silver, the gold, the spices, the precious oil, his armoury, all that was found in his storehouses"; 3) the Chronistic notice that "the wrath of the LORD did not come upon them in the days of Hezekiah" (2 Chr 32:26) corresponds to Hezekiah's statement following Isaiah's oracle of future Babylonian invasion: "There will be peace and security in my days" (2 Kgs 20:19//Isa 39:8).

¹⁰ Brevard Childs labels the Chronicler's reworking of the Assyrian crisis narrative as "midrash" based particularly on the observation that Chronicles is the result of exegetical activity on a fixed textual source, *Assyrian Crisis*, 104-11. His later discussions of midrash assign the term a more restrictive, precise function. See idem, "Psalm Titles and Midrashic Exegesis," *JSS* 16, no. 2 (1971): 137-50; idem, "Midrash and the Old Testament," in *Understanding the Sacred Text: Essays in Honor of Morton S. Enslin on the Hebrew Bible and Christian Beginnings*, ed. John Reumann (Valley Forge, Pennsylvania: Judson Press, 1972), 45-59; and idem, "Retrospective Reading of the Old Testament Prophets," *ZAW* 108/3 (1996): 362-77. Also see a discussion of the issue by Daniel Driver, *Brevard Childs, Biblical Theologian: For the Church's One Bible*, FAT II (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2010).

context of 2 Kings not shared by Isaiah or 2 Chronicles. At the same time, the Chronicler has expanded the account of Hezekiah's purification of the cult which is only briefly mentioned in 2 Kgs 18:4. As in 2 Kings, this cultic reform is presented as Hezekiah's initial act upon assuming the throne, but the Chronicler emphasizes this point by adding the supplement, "In the first year of his reign, in the first month, [Hezekiah] opened the doors of the house of the LORD" (2 Chr 29:3). In addition, while 2 Kings describes Hezekiah's purification of the cult in one verse, the Chronicler expands the description to three chapters, indicating its thematic importance in Chronicles. Conversely, the trilogy of stories which dominate the 2 Kings and Isaiah accounts of Hezekiah are condensed into a single chapter in 2 Chronicles and assigned a secondary role. The Hezekiah trilogy is presented as ancillary to the more significant reform activity, as the transitional statement indicates: "After these things and these acts of faithfulness, Sennacherib king of Assyria came and invaded Judah" (2 Chr 32:1).¹¹

A similar redistribution of emphasis is seen in the placement of speeches within the Chronistic account of Hezekiah. Like the 2 Kings and Isaiah versions, Chronicles utilizes speeches to move the plot forward. But where 2 Kings and Isaiah contain three-fold speeches within the scenes of the Assyrian invasion, Hezekiah's illness, and the visit from the Babylonian envoys, 2 Chronicles inserts a triad of speeches within the account of Hezekiah's reforms (2 Chr 29:5-11; 29:31; 30:6-9). Interestingly, like the three-fold speeches in the account of the Assyrian invasion in 2 Kings and Isaiah, the third speech is delivered in the form of a letter, further emphasizing that the Chronistic portrayal is patterned after the accounts in 2 Kings

¹¹ Chronicles replaces the precise dating found in 2 Kgs 18:13 with this more general temporal description. Isaac Kalimi suggests that the purpose of this modification is "to forge a clear literary and 'chronological' link between the failure of Sennacherib's campaign against Judah described in ch. xxxii and Hezekiah's religious ritual activity recounted in chs (sic) xxix-xxxi," "Literary-chronological Proximity in the Chronicler's Historiography," *VT* 43, no. 3 (1993): 318-38 (325).

and Isaiah, but that Hezekiah's reform eclipses the Assyrian invasion as the high point of his reign in the Chronistic version.

Chronicles also presents a distilled and modified presentation of the three-fold speech and response cycle between Sennacherib/the Rabshakeh and Hezekiah/Isaiah in the portrayal of the Assyrian invasion. In the first place, Chronicles depicts Hezekiah initiating the speech cycle with an exhortation to the people. This contrasts with the portrayal of the Assyrian invasion in 2 Kings and Isaiah in which the first spoken words are a threat pronounced by the Rabshakeh. Second, the Chronistic portrayal combines the three speeches from Sennacherib into one.¹² Though omitting several elements from the speeches,¹³ the Chronicler retains the key words and represents the overall themes from the more expanded accounts in 2 Kings and Isaiah.¹⁴ Finally, by confining the direct speech in the account of the Assyrian

¹² Brevard Childs analyzes the Chronicler's summarization and harmonization of the three-fold speech cycle, noting how several distinct details of the individual speeches are merged in Chronicles. For example, in 2 Kgs 18:34//Isa 36:19 Sennacherib claims that nations have fallen by "my hand" while in 2 Kgs 19:12//Isa 37:12 the nations have been destroyed by "my fathers." The Chronicler combines both claims in Sennacherib's assertion, "Do you not know what I and my fathers have done to all the people of other lands?" (2 Chr 32:13). In 2 Kgs 18:17//Isa 36:2 the first speech is addressed to Hezekiah and in 2 Kgs 18:27-28//Isa 36:112-13 the second speech is addressed to all Judah; Chronicles merges the two by stating that the message was directed "to Hezekiah king of Judah and to all the people of Judah" (2 Chr 32:9). In 2 Kings and Isaiah, the first two encounters between Hezekiah and Sennacherib are in the form of speeches delivered through his messengers and the third is in the form of a letter. Chronicles merges the three with the concluding statement, "And his servants said still more against the Lord God and against his servant Hezekiah. And he wrote letters to cast contempt on the LORD" (2 Chr 32:16-17). Similarly, after the second speech, Hezekiah asks Isaiah to pray on Judah's behalf (2 Kgs 19:4//Isa 37:4) and after the third speech he offers a prayer himself (2 Kgs 19:14-19//Isa 37:14-20); these are consolidated in Chronicles with the summary statement, "Hezekiah the king and Isaiah the prophet...prayed" (2 Chr 32:20). Childs also provides examples of the Chronicler making an interpretive decision based on ambiguities in the source text regarding why Sennacherib left Lachish (2 Kgs 19:8//Isa 37:8; 2 Chr 32:9) and whether or not an Assyrian army stayed on in Jerusalem when the Rabshakeh left (2 Kgs 18:17//Isa 36:2; 37:8; 19:8; 2 Chr 32:9), *Assyrian Crisis*, 105-11.

¹³ The Chronicler omits the negotiations offered to Hezekiah and the people of Jerusalem by Sennacherib (2 Kgs 18:23//Isa 36:8; 2 Kgs 18:31-32//Isa 36:16-17); the lists of the resources on which Judah is accused of relying for protection (2 Kgs 18:20-22//Isa 36:5-7), including the intimation that Hezekiah had formed an alliance with the king of Egypt; and the list of nations whose gods were incapable of delivering them (2 Kgs 18:33-34; 19:11-13//Isa 36:19-20; 37:11-13).

¹⁴ David Bostock argues that the three-fold speech cycle in 2 Kings and Isaiah builds on the themes and key words of trust (the root בָּטַח is repeated six times) and deliverance (the root נָצַל is repeated eleven times), *Portrayal of Trust*, 50-64. To these could be added the converse themes of being deceived (נָשָׂא) and misled (סוּת) (2 Kgs 18:19-30//Isa 36:14-15 and 2 Kgs 18:32b//Isa 36:18a). The

invasion to Hezekiah and Sennacherib, the Chronistic version of the narrative limits the roles of the Rabshakeh and the prophet Isaiah.

In addition to reassigning the emphasis of the narrative, the Chronistic account of Hezekiah also reduces the dramatic tension which characterizes the portrayal of the Assyrian invasion, illness and recovery, and visit from the Babylonian envoys in 2 Kings and Isaiah. Where 2 Kgs 18:13 and Isa 36:1 state that Sennacherib “came up against all the fortified cities of Judah and took them,” 2 Chr 32:1 asserts that Sennacherib only “encamped against the fortified cities, thinking to win them for himself.”¹⁵ In place of the notice of Hezekiah’s capitulation in response to Sennacherib’s advance (2 Kgs 18:14-16), 2 Chr 32:2-8 presents Hezekiah fortifying the city and encouraging the people.¹⁶ Instead of the distress that characterizes the people of Judah in 2 Kings and Isaiah (2 Kgs 18:26//Isa 36:11; 2 Kgs 18:36-19:4//Isa 36:21-37:4), Chronicles states that they “took confidence from the words of Hezekiah king of Judah” (2 Chr 32:8).

Hezekiah’s illness and the visit from the Babylonian envoys are also drastically condensed in the Chronistic account and all features which lend suspense to the versions in 2 Kings and Isaiah are removed. The illness and recovery narrative is summarized in one verse: “In those days Hezekiah became sick and was at the point of death, and he prayed to the LORD, and he answered him and gave him a sign” (2 Chr 32:24). This synopsis eliminates the descriptions of Hezekiah’s anxiety and the contents of his prayer for deliverance, as well as Isaiah’s prophecy, sign, and healing activity. Nevertheless, the Chronicler conforms to the sequence of the account in 2

Chronicler retains and adapts each of these themes in his distillation of the speeches: בָּטַח (2 Chr 32:10); נָצַל (2 Chr 32:11, 13, 14, 15); נָשָׂא (2 Chr 32:15); סוֹת (2 Chr 32:11, 15).

¹⁵ That Sennacherib did indeed successfully besiege several areas of Judah is corroborated by archaeological evidence. Yohanan Aharoni, *The Archaeology of the Land of Israel: From the Prehistoric Beginnings to the End of the First Temple Period* (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1982), 253-66.

¹⁶ This detail may have a textual antecedent in Isa 22:8-11.

Kings and Isaiah: Hezekiah prayed (2 Kgs 20:2-3//Isa 38:2-3); the LORD answered him (2 Kgs 20:4-7//Isa 38:4-6); and he received a sign (2 Kgs 20:8-11//Isa 38:7-8). Similarly, the visit from the Babylonians in Chronicles contains no description of Hezekiah's reception of the envoys, Isaiah's oracle, or Hezekiah's response, but is merely referred to as "the matter of the envoys of the princes of Babylon, who had been sent to [Hezekiah] to inquire about the sign that had been done in the land" (2 Chr 32:31).

A most conspicuous alteration of the Hezekiah narrative in 2 Chronicles is the role of Isaiah in each of the three scenes. In 2 Kings and Isaiah, the prophet's oracles and signs serve as the climactic turning points in the three episodes of the Assyrian threat (2 Kgs 19:6-7, 20-34//Isa 37:6-7, 21-35), Hezekiah's illness (2 Kgs 20:5-7//Isa 38:5-8), and the visit from the Babylonian envoys (2 Kgs 20:16-18//Isa 39:5-7). By contrast, the role of the prophet in adumbrating God's judgment and salvation of the king and city is downplayed in 2 Chronicles. He is mentioned only briefly in two passages: "Hezekiah the king and Isaiah the prophet, the son of Amoz, prayed" (2 Chr 32:20) and "Now the rest of the acts of Hezekiah and his good deeds, behold, they are written in the vision of Isaiah the prophet the son of Amoz" (2 Chr 32:32). The content of the oracles, signs, and prayers associated with Isaiah are left entirely unrecorded.

Given the prominence of prophetic figures and prophetic speeches in Chronicles, this omission is particularly salient. Isaac Kalimi suggests that Isaiah's oracle of salvation in response to the Assyrian threat is omitted in Chronicles in order to create a "literary-chronological proximity" between the prayer for deliverance (2 Chr 32:20) and the deliverance itself (2 Chr 32:21), events which are separated in 2

Kings and Isaiah by 20 verses (2 Kgs 19:15-35//Isa 37:15-36).¹⁷ However, since the intervening verses in 2 Kings and Isaiah are the very words of Hezekiah's prayer and Isaiah's prophecy in response, this can hardly be thought of as a separation between human prayer and divine response, as Kalimi alleges.¹⁸ Instead, the omission must be the result of the Chronicler's attempt to refocus the significance of the story.

Hezekiah replaces Isaiah as God's mouthpiece. Instead of Isaiah encouraging the people with the words "do not be afraid, אַל-תִּירָא" (2 Kgs 19:6//Isa 37:6), these words come from the mouth of Hezekiah in 2 Chr 32:7: "Do not be afraid [אַל-תִּירָא] or dismayed before the king of Assyria and all the horde that is with him." Similarly, instead of Isaiah pronouncing the pivotal speeches in the narrative, the Chronicler assigns them to Hezekiah and concentrates them within the account of the king's restoration of the cult (2 Chr 29:5-11, 31; 30:6-9; see also 32:7-8), indicating a transparent repositioning of emphasis in Chronicles. Additionally, instead of prayers for deliverance or oracles of salvation, the speeches in the Chronistic account centre primarily on appeals for spiritual reform. All of these features, as will be seen, serve the purpose of depicting Hezekiah and the period of his reign in elevated terms corresponding to descriptions of ideal kingship in the Latter Prophets. Thus, although the *character* of Isaiah the prophet is conspicuously absent in the Chronicler's account, it is the burden of this study to demonstrate that his literary legacy has left its mark on the Chronistic composition.¹⁹ Isaiah's influence on the Chronicler will be established first through examination of verbal correspondences between the two

¹⁷ Kalimi, "Literary-chronological Proximity," 329-30; idem, *Reshaping* 28-29.

¹⁸ Were such a partition created by the inclusion of Hezekiah's prayer and Isaiah's prophecy, it is diminished by the assertion of God's deliverance "that very night" (2 Kgs 19:35).

¹⁹ Panc Beentjes observes, "the chronicler is more interested in the (text of the) Book of Isaiah than in the prophet Isaiah as a historical person or even as a literary figure." Panc Beentjes, "Isaiah in the Book of Chronicles," in *Isaiah in Context: Studies in Honour of Arie van der Kooij on the Occasion of His Sixty-fifth Birthday*, ed. Michael N. van der Meer, VTSup (Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2010), 15-24 (18).

works and then through evaluation of thematic and theological elements of the book of Isaiah which appear in the Chronistic portrayal of Hezekiah.

Verbal Correspondences between Isaiah and 2 Chr 29-32

The presence of verbal and syntactical correspondence between texts provides the surest indication of literary borrowing. However, because the accounts in 2 Kgs 18-20 and Isa 36-39 are so similar in both language and structure, features in 2 Chr 29-32 which resemble these earlier versions are difficult to assign to either a 2 Kings or Isaiah source. Therefore, determination of the Chronicler's familiarity with Isaiah will begin with indications of Isaianic influence throughout Chronicles as a whole and then move to verbal and thematic features of the Hezekiah narrative in particular.

It was shown previously that in the book of Chronicles linguistic overtones to literature in the Latter Prophets are concentrated primarily in the non-synoptic speeches.²⁰ In many instances, the isolated phrases alone do not appear to provide strong evidence of literary dependence, but the presence of multiple analogous expressions appearing in nearly every non-synoptic speech in Chronicles supports the conclusion that these speeches have been created through the amalgamation of locutions, images, and themes from other scriptural texts. In several non-synoptic speeches, the Chronicler's reliance on material from the book of Isaiah is evident. A brief indication of the Chronicler's integration of Isaianic language in speeches which occur outside of the Hezekiah narrative sets the stage for an examination of the influence of Isaiah material in Hezekiah's speeches and in the overall portrayal of Hezekiah in Chronicles.

²⁰ See the discussion in Chapter 1, pages 18-21

An initial idiom which occurs in many of the Chronistic speeches and indicates reliance on locutions from the Latter Prophets, including Isaiah, is that of seeking the LORD.²¹ Before his death, David exhorts Solomon with the words, “If you seek him [the LORD], he will be found by you, but if you forsake him, he will cast you off forever, **וְאִם-תִּשְׁכַּח אֶת-יְהוָה לְעַד: וְאִם-תִּדְרֹשׁוּ יִמְצָא לָךְ**” (1 Chr 28:9). Azariah repeats these same words to Asa in 2 Chr 15:2,²² and in the speeches of Shemaiah (2 Chr 12:5-8) and Zechariah (2 Chr 24:20) this principle is stated negatively: “Because you have forsaken the LORD, he has forsaken you, **כִּי-עָזַבְתֶּם אֶת-יְהוָה וַיַּעַזְבֵּךְ אֱתָכֶם**” (2 Chr 24:20).²³ This theme of seeking and finding with God as the object clearly echoes prophetic idiom, particularly an oracle of Isaiah which states, “Seek the LORD while he may be found, **דְּרֹשׁוּ יְהוָה בְּהִמָּצְאוֹ**” (Isa 55:6a).²⁴ Isaiah’s oracle goes on to incorporate the concept of forsaking as a counterpart to seeking, just as is seen in 1

²¹ For more detailed discussions of the significance of this theme in Chronicles, see Glenn Edward Schaefer, “The Significance of Seeking God in the Purpose of the Chronicler,” (PhD dissertation, Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, 1972); Christopher Begg, “Seeking Yahweh and the Purpose of Chronicles,” *Louvain Studies* 9 (1982): 128-41; Dillard, *2 Chronicles*, 76-81; Kelly, *Retribution and Eschatology*, 49-58; Dyck, *Theocratic Ideology*, 145-47. Non-synoptic occurrences of **דְּרֹשׁ/בִּקֵּשׁ** in relation to seeking the LORD include 1 Chr 10:13, 14; 13:3; 15:13; 21:30; 22:19; 28:9; 2 Chr 1:5; 7:14; 11:16; 12:14; 14:4, 7; 15:2, 4, 12, 13, 15; 16:12; 17:3, 4; 19:3; 20:3, 4; 24:22; 25:15, 20; 26:5; 30:19; 34:3; synoptic occurrences include 1 Chr 16:10-11 (= Ps 105:3-4); 2 Chr 18:4, 6, 7 (= 1 Kgs 22:5, 7, 8); 34:21, 26 (= 2 Kgs 22:13, 18). The two terms **בִּקֵּשׁ** and **דְּרֹשׁ** function synonymously in Chronicles and other biblical literature; cf. Deut 4:29; Isa 65:1; Jer 29:13 where the two terms appear in parallel expressions.

²² Azariah’s speech is addressed to a plural audience: “**וְאִם-תִּדְרֹשׁוּ יִמְצָא לָכֶם וְאִם-תִּשְׁכַּחוּ יַעַזְבֵּךְ יְהוָה**” (2 Chr 15:2). The theme of seeking and finding is carried into the narrative portions of this passage as well, 2 Chr 15:4, 15.

²³ Shemaiah speaks these words using first person pronouns, “Thus says the LORD, ‘You abandoned me, so I have abandoned you,’ **אֲתָכֶם עָזַבְתֶּם אֹתִי וְאֶת-אֱמִי עָזַבְתִּי אֶתְכֶם**” (2 Chr 12:5). Forsaking God from the root **עָזַב** occurs in 1 Chr 28:9, 20; 2 Chr 7:19, 22 (= 1 Kgs 9:9); 12:1, 5; 13:10, 11; 15:2; 21:10; 24:18, 20, 24; 28:6; 29:6; 34:25 (= 2 Kgs 24:17).

²⁴ The book of Jeremiah contains a similar turn of phrase: “You will seek me and find me when you seek me with all your heart, I will be found by you, declares the LORD, **כִּי וּבִקְשֶׁתֶּם אֹתִי וּמָצֵאתֶם כִּי**” (Jer 29:13-14a). Elsewhere seeking (**בִּקֵּשׁ**) and finding (**מָצָא**) with God as the object occurs only in Deut 4:29; Isa 65:1; Hos 5:6 (cf. Amos 8:12). The synonymous term **דְּרֹשׁ** occurs together with **מָצָא** in Deut 4:29; Isa 55:6; 65:1; Jer 29:13; 1 Chr 28:9; 2 Chr 15:2; 19:3.

Chr 28:9 and 2 Chr 15:2: “Let the wicked forsake his way, יַעֲזֹב רָשָׁע דְּרָכּוֹ” (Isa 55:7a).²⁵ The fact that both Isaiah and Chronicles repeat the same key concepts – seek, find, forsake – may indicate that the Chronicler had this passage in mind when he was composing his speeches.²⁶

Isaiah 55 provides the basis for another verbal overtone in Chronicles which further substantiates the claim that this Isaianic passage was known by the Chronicler. The non-synoptic conclusion to Solomon’s prayer (2 Chr 6:40-42) at the dedication of the temple includes the following request: “Remember your steadfast love for David your servant, זָכְרָה לְחַסְדֵי דָוִיד עַבְדְּךָ:” (2 Chr 6:42b). This expression of God’s “steadfast love for David” repeats the promise in Isa 55:3b: “I will make with you an everlasting covenant, my steadfast, sure love for David, וְאֶכְרְתָהּ לָכֶם בְּרִית עוֹלָם חֶסֶדִי וְדָוִד הַנְּאֻמָּנִים:”²⁷ This syntactical form, חֶסֶדִי דָוִד, occurs only in Isa 55:3b and 2 Chr 6:42b in the Hebrew Bible.²⁸ Though the immediately preceding statement in 2 Chr 6:41-42a is an almost verbatim repetition of Psalm 132:8-10,²⁹ the Chronicler replaces

²⁵ Other prophetic passages which contain the word pair of seeking and finding do not contain the third element of forsaking that ties Isa 55:6-7 to the speeches in Chronicles. The juxtaposition of seeking and forsaking is found in other passages in Isaiah and does not occur elsewhere in the Latter Prophets. In addition to the passages cited above, בָּקַשׁ + עִזַּב appear in Isaiah 41:17 (also in 1 Kgs 19:10, 14; Ezr 8:22; Ps 37:25); דָּרַשׁ + עִזַּב occur in Isa 58:2; 62:12 (also in Ps 9:10).

²⁶ Mason, *Preaching the Tradition*, 30; Williamson, *1 and 2 Chronicles*, 181.

²⁷ Williamson, "Eschatology in Chronicles," 143-46.

²⁸ Other passages speak of God’s lovingkindness for David and thus place the two words in close proximity (2 Sam 22:51; 1 Kgs 3:6; Isa 16:5; Ps 18:50; 89:49; 2 Chr 1:8), but the words are not in construct elsewhere in the Hebrew Bible as is seen in Isa 55:3b and 2 Chr 6:42b.

²⁹ Slight differences between the two passages are discernable in the following comparison: Psalm 132:8-10 states, “(8) Arise, O LORD, and go to your resting place, you and the ark of your might. 9) Let your priests be clothed with righteousness, and let your saints shout for joy. 10) For the sake of your servant David, do not turn away the face of your anointed one,

קוֹמָה יְהוָה לְמִנוּחֶתֶךָ אֶתָּה וְאֲרוֹן עֲזֶךָ: כְּהִנֵּי יִלְבָּשׁוּ צִדִּיק וְחַסִּידֶיךָ יִרְגְּנוּ: בְּעֶבֶר דָּוִד עַבְדְּךָ אֶל־תִּשָּׁב פָּנָי מִשִּׁיחֶךָ:”

2 Chr 6:41-42 states, “(41) And now arise, O LORD God, and go to your resting place, you and the ark of your might. Let your priests, O LORD God, be clothed with salvation, and let your saints rejoice in your goodness. 42) O LORD God, do not turn away the face of your anointed one! Remember your steadfast love for David your servant,

the phrase, “for the sake of your servant David, בְּעִבּוֹר דָּוִד עַבְדְּךָ” (Ps 132:10a) with the Isaianic reference to חֲסִדֵי דָוִד, thus conflating these reiterations of the Dynastic Oracle in Isa 55 and Ps 132. This fusion of texts is rounded out by the incorporation of a petition in 2 Chr 6:40 which bears verbal and thematic similarity with the immediately preceding request in Isa 55. Solomon implores in 2 Chr 6:40, “Now, O my God, let your eyes be open and your ears attentive to the prayer of this place, עֲתָה: הִטּוּ אָזְנוֹכֶם וּלְכוּ אֵלַי שְׁמְעוּ וּתְחִי נַפְשְׁכֶם.” Similarly, in Isa 55:3a, God, through the prophet Isaiah, utters the following plea: “Incline your ear, and come to me; hear, that your soul may live, הִטּוּ אָזְנוֹכֶם וּלְכוּ אֵלַי שְׁמְעוּ וּתְחִי נַפְשְׁכֶם.”

Hanani’s speech in 2 Chr 16:7-9 contains verbal and thematic overtones of oracles from First Isaiah. Hanani declares to Asa, “You relied on the king of Syria, and did not rely on the LORD your God, בָּהִשְׁעֲנֶךָ עַל-מֶלֶךְ אֲרָם וְלֹא נִשְׁעַנְתָּ עַל-יְהוָה” (2 Chr 16:7b). Isaiah expresses a similar sentiment in Isa 10:20 but with a reversal of the objects to describe the type of reliance that will characterize the remnant who will return from exile: “In that day the remnant of Israel and the survivors of the house of Jacob will no more lean on him who struck them, but will lean on the LORD, וְהָיָה בַּיּוֹם הַהוּא לֹא-יִוָּסֵף עוֹד שְׂאֵר יִשְׂרָאֵל וּפְלִיטַת בֵּית-יַעֲקֹב לְהִשָּׁעַן” (Isa 10:20).³⁰ Use of the word שָׁעַן “to lean” is used with the metaphorical sense of dependence for security predominantly in Isaiah and Chronicles

וַעֲתָה קוּמָה יְהוָה אֱלֹהִים לְנוֹחַד אֶתְּהָ וְאַרְוֹן עֲזָד כְּהִנִּיךָ יְהוָה אֱלֹהִים יִלְבְּשׁוּ תְּשׁוּעָה וְחִסְדֶּיךָ יִשְׁמְחוּ בְּטוֹב: יְהוָה אֱלֹהִים אֶל-תֵּשֶׁב פְּנֵי מְשִׁיחֶיךָ זָכְרָה לְחִסְדֵי דָוִד עַבְדְּךָ:

³⁰ Mason, *Preaching the Tradition*.53.

(Isa 10:20; 30:12; 31:1; 50:10; 2 Chr 13:18; 14:10 [11 EV]; 16:7, 8).³¹ Hanani goes on to point out that reliance on the LORD is more trustworthy than reliance on military might: “Were not the Ethiopians and the Libyans a huge army with very many chariots and horsemen? Yet because you relied on the LORD, he gave them into your hand, הלא הבושים והלובים היו לחיל לרב לרכב ולפרשים להרבה מאד ובהשענך עליהם נתנם :בִּידֶךָ” (2 Chr 16:8). Similarly, Isaiah cautions against reliance on military might instead of on the LORD: “Woe to those who go down to Egypt for help and rely on horses, who trust in chariots because they are many and in horsemen because they are very strong, but do not look to the Holy One of Israel or consult the LORD, הוֹי הַיִּרְדִּים מִצָּרִים לְעֶזְרָה עַל־סוּסִים יִשְׁעֻנוּ וַיִּבְטְחוּ עַל־רֶכֶב בִּי רַב וְעַל פָּרָשִׁים בִּי־עֲצָמוּ מְאֹד וְלֹא שָׁעוּ הוֹי הַיִּרְדִּים” (Isa 31:1). The additional contrast between reliance on the LORD over and against reliance on chariots (רֶכֶב) or horsemen (פָּרָשִׁים) further links 2 Chr 16:7-9 to Isaiah’s oracles.

A prominent feature of Isaiah’s corpus is the formulaic expression “do not be afraid, אַל־תִּירָא” as a component of a prophetic oracle.³² This phrase is picked up by the Chronicler and incorporated into several of the non-synoptic speeches (1 Chr 22:13; 28:20; 2 Chr 20:15, 17; 32:7). In each of the speeches, this locution is combined with the additional injunction “and do not be dismayed, אַל־תִּירָאוּ

³¹ See William Lee Holladay, ed., *A Concise Hebrew and Aramaic Lexicon of the Old Testament* (Grand Rapids; Leiden: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company; E. J. Brill, 1988), 380. Compare the other occurrences of the word in Gen 18:4; Num 21:15; Jdgs 16:26; 2 Sam 1:6; 2 Kgs 5:18; 7:2, 17; Ezek 29:7; Job 8:15. The uses of the word in Mic 3:11; Job 24:23; Prov 3:5 imply security and dependence.

³² Isa 7:4; 10:24; 35:4; 37:6; 40:9; 41:10, 13, 14; 43:1, 5; 44:2, 8; 51:7; 54:4. Though the expression also occurs in other prophetic literature (Jer 1:8; 10:5; 30:10; 40:9; 42:11; 46:27, 28; Ezek 2:6; Joel 2:21, 22; Zeph 3:16; Hag 2:5; Zech 8:13, 15), it is far more prominent in Isaiah’s corpus and seems to be an essential ingredient in the thematic movement and overall structure of the 66-chapter complex. See Conrad, *Fear Not Warrior*; Sheppard, “Book of Isaiah.”

וְאַל-תִּחַתּוּ.” This same combination is found in Isa 51:6 [EV 7]: “Fear not the reproach of man nor be dismayed at their revilings, אֶל-תִּירָאוּ חֲרַפַּת אֲנוּשׁ וּמַגְדָּפֹתָם אֶל-תִּחַתּוּ:” as well as in Isa 41:10: “Fear not, for I am with you; be not dismayed, for I am your God, אֶל-תִּירָא כִּי עִמָּךְ-אֲנִי אֶל-תִּשְׁתַּעַ”³³ In this second instance, the assertion אֶל-תִּירָא כִּי עִמָּךְ-אֲנִי bears an additional verbal correspondence with 1 Chr 28:20, 2 Chr 20:17, and 32:8, each of which affirms, “the LORD is with you, וַיְהִי הוּא עִמָּכֶם”³⁵ Other Chronistic speeches also repeat this invocation, וַיְהִי הוּא עִמָּכֶם (2 Chr 13:12; 15:2; 19:11; 32:8; 36:23). The fact that it is also a theologically significant feature of Isaiah’s theology bolsters the case for Isaianic influence on the Chronicler’s composition. In the Immanuel oracles in Isa 7 and 8, the concept “God with us, אֵל עִמָּנוּ” (Isa 7:14; 8:8, 10) functions together with the exhortation אֶל-תִּירָא (Isa 7:4) as an emblem of God’s intention to preserve his people. When this expression is repeated again in Second Isaiah, “fear not for I am with you, אֶל-תִּירָא כִּי עִמָּךְ-אֲנִי” (Isa 41:10; 43:1-2; 5),³⁶ this time in the context of restoration from exile, it calls to mind the prior prophecies of salvation. The Chronistic reiteration of this phrase likewise deliberately invokes the familiar oracles of salvation and restoration in Isaiah.³⁷

³³ The root שַׁתַּע is rare in the Hebrew Bible, occurring only in Isa 41:10, 23. It seems to be synonymous with חַתַּת in this context.

³⁴ This combination of expressions, אֶל-תִּירָא וְאַל-תִּחַתּוּ, is not confined to the book of Isaiah but appears in other literature as well (Deut 1:21; Josh 1:9; 8:1; 10:25; Jer 30:10; 46:27; Ezek 2:6) signifying that it was probably a formulaic saying.

³⁵ See also Jer 42:11; 46:28 which combine the expressions אֶל-תִּירָא and כִּי אֲתָךְ-אֲנִי.

³⁶ Isa 43:1-2 and 5 employ an alternative form of the preposition: “אֶל-תִּירָא כִּי אֲתָךְ-אֲנִי.”

³⁷ Fishbane, *Biblical Interpretation*, 387; Williamson, *1 and 2 Chronicles*, 289; Schniedewind, *Word of God in Transition*, 117.

Following closely after Jahaziel's speech in 2 Chr 20:15-17 is a speech uttered by Jehoshaphat (2 Chr 20:20) which also incorporates a recognizable Isaianic idiom. Jehoshaphat declares, "Believe in the LORD your God, and you will be established, הָאֱמִינוּ בַיהוָה אֱלֹהֵיכֶם וְתִצְמְחוּ" (2 Chr 20:20b). This statement, which contains a play on the word אָמֵן reworks Isaiah's oracle to Ahaz in Isa 7:9: "If you are not firm in faith, you will not be firm at all, לֹא תִצְמַחְמוּ כִּי לֹא תִאֱמִינוּ." ³⁸ The fact that Jehoshaphat's speech goes on to assert, "Believe in his prophets, and you will succeed, הָאֱמִינוּ בְּנָבִיאָיו וְהִצְלַחְתֶּם" (2 Chr 20:20b) may be the Chronicler's way of citing his Isaianic source.

A concrete instance of the Chronicler citing the book of Isaiah as one of his sources is found in the Hezekiah narrative itself where the Chronicler points his readers in the direction of other literature for more information about Hezekiah's life: "Now the rest of the acts of Hezekiah and his good deeds, behold, they are written in the vision of Isaiah the prophet the son of Amoz" (2 Chr 32:32). This resource, "the vision of Isaiah son of Amoz" (חִזְוֹן יִשְׁעִיָּהוּ בֶן־אָמוֹץ), is referred to only one other time in the Hebrew Bible: in the opening words of the book of Isaiah (Isa 1:1).

It has been demonstrated that several non-synoptic speeches throughout the book of Chronicles contain echoes of Isaianic locutions. In the same way, the speeches delivered by Hezekiah in 2 Chr 29:5-11, 29:31, and 30:6-9 contain allusions to material from the book of Isaiah. These speeches of Hezekiah also contain strong verbal correspondences to other books of the Latter Prophets, at times overshadowing the Isaianic overtones. Nevertheless, integration of material from the wider collection

³⁸ Von Rad, "Levitical Sermon," 224; Fishbane, *Biblical Interpretation*, 387; Schniedewind, *Word of God in Transition*, 117; Beentjes, *Isaiah in the Book of Chronicles*, 21-23.

of the Latter Prophets corroborates the Chronicler's dependence on Isaiah. Therefore, in the analysis of Hezekiah's speeches in Chronicles, the linguistic similarities to Isaiah as well as to other material in the Latter Prophets will be highlighted.

Language from the Latter Prophets in the Chronistic Speeches of Hezekiah

Hezekiah's two speeches in 2 Chr 29:5-11 and 2 Chr 30:6-9 are patterned after one another, sharing several words, themes, and structural features and therefore can be examined together:

1) Both begin with a call for attention and a naming of the addressee:

“Hear me, Levites!” (2 Chr 29:5);
“O people of Israel” (2 Chr 30:6)³⁹

which is immediately followed by an imperative:

“Consecrate yourselves (וְקִדְשׁוּ)” (2 Chr 29:5);
“Return (שׁוּבוּ) to the LORD” (2 Chr 30:6).

This initial charge in each speech indicates the key theme of the respective address; the root קדש occurs four times in the first speech (2 Chr 29:5 twice, 10, 11) and the root שוב is found six times in the second (2 Chr 30:6 twice, 8, 9 three times).

2) The necessity of the reformation activity is then established as a reversal of the former unfaithfulness of the fathers:

“For our fathers have been unfaithful, כִּי־מָעַלּוּ אֲבוֹתֵינוּ” (2 Chr 29:6);
“Do not be like your fathers...who were faithless, וְאַל־תִּהְיוּ כְּאֲבוֹתֵיכֶם...אֲשֶׁר”
“מָעַלּוּ” (2 Chr 30:7).

³⁹ James Newsome observes that opening salutations similar to these characterize most of the speeches in the book of Chronicles, "Toward a New Understanding," 211.

3) It is this unfaithfulness that resulted in them being made:

“a desolation, as you now see, **לְשִׁמָּה כְּאֲשֶׁר אַתֶּם רֹאִים**” (repeated in both 2 Chr 29:8 and 30:7).

4) The opposite of the desired action is then proscribed:

“Do not now be negligent, **עֲתָה אַל־תִּשְׁלֹו**” (2 Chr 29:11);

“Do not now be stiff-necked, **עֲתָה אַל־תִּקְשֹׁ עֲרֹפֶכֶם**” (2 Chr 30:8).

This injunction is given as a means of avoiding God’s wrath:

“that his fierce anger may turn away from you, **וַיִּשָׁב מִמֶּנּוּ/מִכֶּם חֲרוֹן אַפּוֹ**” (repeated in 2 Chr 29:10 and 30:8).

Several linguistic features of these speeches echo descriptions from the Latter Prophets. In the first speech, Hezekiah states, “the wrath of the LORD came on Judah and Jerusalem, and he has made them an object of horror, of astonishment, and of hissing, **וַיְהִי קֶצֶף יְהוָה עַל־יְהוּדָה וִירוּשָׁלַם וַיִּתְּגַם לְזוּעָה לְשִׁמָּה וּלְשִׁרְקָה**” (2 Chr 29:8, see also 2 Chr 30:7). This terminology of desolation (**שִׁמָּה**), horror (**זוּעָה/זוּעָה**), and hissing (**שִׁרְקָה**) is typical language in the Latter Prophets associated with the destruction of the land and exile of the people to Babylon and rarely occurs elsewhere in the Hebrew Bible.⁴⁰ These three terms are repeated in Jer 29:18, providing a clear precursor to the Chronicler’s usage: “I will make them a horror to all the kingdoms of the earth, to be a curse, a terror, a hissing, and a reproach among all the nations where I have driven

⁴⁰ In addition to the usage of these terms in 2 Chr 29:8, **שִׁמָּה** is found in Isa 5:9; 13:9; 24:12; Jer 2:15; 4:7; 5:30; 8:21; 18:16; 19:8; 25:9, 11, 18, 38; 29:18; 42:18; 44:12, 22; 46:19; 48:9; 49:13, 17; 50:3, 23; 51:29, 37, 41, 43; Ezek 23:33; Hos 5:9; Joel 1:7; Mic 6:16; Zeph 2:15; Zech 7:14; 2 Chr 30:7, as well as in Deut 28:37; 2 Kgs 22:19; Ps 46:9 [8 EV]; 73:19. **זוּעָה/זוּעָה** occurs in Isa 28:19; Jer 15:4; 24:9; 29:18; 34:17; Ezek 23:46, as well as in Deut 28:25. **שִׁרְקָה** is used in Jer 18:16; 19:18; 25:9, 18; 29:18; 51:37; Mic 6:16.

וַיִּתְּתִים לְיוֹעֵזָה לְכָל מַמְלָכוֹת הָאָרֶץ לְאֵלָהּ וּלְשִׁמָּה וּלְשָׂרָקָה וּלְחֶרֶף בְּכָל־הַגּוֹיִם, them, אֲשֶׁר־הִדְחִיתִים שָׁם.”⁴¹ (Jer 18:16; 19:8; 24:9; 25:9, 11, 18; 29:18; 42:18; 44:8, 12, 22; 49:17; 50:13; 51:37; Mic 6:16). Hezekiah’s urging, “Do not be like your fathers, (אֲלִיתְהוּ כְּאֲבוֹתֵיכֶם) (2 Chr 29:6; 30:7) is a clear echo of Zech 1:4 (אֲלִיתְהוּ כְּאֲבוֹתֵיכֶם).⁴² By exhorting the people with the words, “do not stiffen your neck, as your fathers did, (אֲלִיתְקִשׁוּ עֲרֻכְכֶם כְּאֲבוֹתֵיכֶם) (2 Chr 30:8a) the Chronicler may be alluding to Jer 7:26b which states, “they stiffened their neck. They did worse than their fathers, וַיִּקְשׁוּ וַיִּתְּתִים” (a similar expression appears in Jer 17:23).⁴³ The filth in the temple is described as נִדָּה (2 Chr 29:5), its only occurrence in Chronicles and a conspicuous term since in the Latter Prophets it is used to express impurity associated with the judgment of exile (Ezek 7:19; 36:17; Zech 13:1).⁴⁴

These allusions to descriptions of the Babylonian exile from the Latter Prophets are juxtaposed in Hezekiah’s speeches with prophetic terminology adumbrating restoration. The theme of “return,” שׁוּב, is especially prominent

⁴¹ The three terms do not appear together in any other instances in the Hebrew Bible. Aside from this passage, the closest parallels to the Chronicler’s usage appear in the Latter Prophets where שָׁמָּה + שָׂרָקָה are idiomatically employed: Jer 18:16; 19:8; 25:9, 18; 51:37; Mic 6:16.

⁴² Beuken, *Haggai-Sacharja 1-8*, 84-115; Ackroyd, *Chronicles, Ezra, Nehemiah*, 184; Williamson, *1 and 2 Chronicles*, 367-68; Mason, “Some Echoes”; idem, *Preaching the Tradition*, 49.

⁴³ In addition to its occurrences in the book of Jeremiah (Jer 7:26; 17:23; 19:15), the idiom קִשָּׁה in the Hiphil + אֲתֵּנָה appears in Deut 10:16; 2 Kgs 17:14; Prov 29:1; Neh 9:16, 17, 29; 2 Chr 36:13. In 2 Kgs 17:14 the expression also occurs together with כָּבָדָם. The expression “stiff-necked,” קִשָּׁה־עֹרֶף, as an adjective is used in Ex 32:9; 33:3, 5; 34:9; Deut 9:6, 13; 31:37; Isa 48:4. Though its appearance throughout a wide range of biblical literature indicates that it was most likely a conventional turn of phrase, it is clearly a favourite expression of Jeremiah.

⁴⁴ The more general use of the word expresses ritual impurity, especially resulting from menstruation, adultery, or coming into contact with a corpse. See Lev 12:2, 5; 15:19, 24, 33; 18:19; 20:21; Num 19:9, 13, 20, 21; Ezek 18:6; 22:10. Cf. also Lam 1:17; Ezra 9:11 where the city of Jerusalem is described as unclean.

(occurring eight times) and provides the means of several wordplays⁴⁵ which bears resemblance to the use of the word in the Latter Prophets as a description of both the people's repentance and God's forgiveness (e.g., Jer 3:14, 22; Hos 6:1, 12:7 [6 EV], 14:2-3 [1-2 EV]; Joel 2:12-14). Scholars concur that prophetic passages such as Zech 1:3 and Mal 3:7, which contain the rhetorical expression of God returning to the people when they return to him, have probably influenced the Chronicler's use of the word in these speeches.⁴⁶ In 2 Chr 30:6 it is asserted: "Return to the LORD...that he may turn again to the remnant of you who have escaped, שׁוּבוּ אֶל־יְהוָה...וְיָשָׁב, הַפְּלִיטָה הַנִּשְׁאָרָה לָכֶם." Similarly, Zech 1:3 states: "Return to me, says the LORD of hosts, and I will return to you, says the LORD of hosts, שׁוּבוּ אֵלַי נָא יְהוָה צְבָאוֹת וְאָשׁוּב, וְאֶשׁוּבָה אֲלֵיכֶם אָמַר יְהוָה צְבָאוֹת:" and again in Mal 3:7 it is declared: "Return to me, and I will return to you, says the LORD of hosts, וְאֶשׁוּבָה אֲלֵיכֶם אָמַר יְהוָה צְבָאוֹת." By identifying his audience as the "remnant of you who have escaped, הַפְּלִיטָה הַנִּשְׁאָרָה לָכֶם" (2 Chr 30:6), this Chronistic speech clearly alludes to the versions of the Hezekiah narrative in 2 Kings and Isaiah where the prophet Isaiah declares that "the remnant of the house of Judah who escape [פְּלִיטַת בֵּית־יְהוּדָה הַנִּשְׁאָרָה] shall again take root downward and bear fruit upward" (Isa 37:31; 2 Kgs 19:30).⁴⁷ Similarly, this

⁴⁵ E.g., returning to the LORD will result in the LORD returning to the people (2 Chr 30:6); the people returning to the land (2 Chr 30:9); the LORD's anger turning away from them (2 Chr 29:10; 30:8); and the LORD's face not turning away from them (2 Chr 30:9).

⁴⁶ Ackroyd, *Chronicles, Ezra, Nehemiah*, 184; Williamson, *I and II Chronicles*, 367; Mason, *Preaching the Tradition*, 104-5; Japhet, *I & II Chronicles*, 943.

⁴⁷ Identification of this expression as an inner-biblical echo clarifies the otherwise confusing reference at this point in the narrative to "the remnant of you who have escaped from the hand of the kings of Assyria." Sara Japhet suggests that Hezekiah's words refer to the Northern Kingdom captured by Assyria during Hezekiah's reign, *I & II Chronicles*, 942. However, this finds little support in light of the Chronicler's omission of 2 Kings 17; 18:9-12 describing the fall of Samaria. Furthermore, according to 2 Kings, the fall of Israel occurred in the sixth year of Hezekiah's reign (2 Kgs 18:10),

juxtaposition of פְּלִיטָה with a form of the root שָׁאֵר occurs frequently in Isaiah (Isa 4:2-3; 10:20; 15:9; 37:31-32//2 Kgs 19:30-31).⁴⁸ Finally, Hezekiah's second speech culminates in the expression: "For the LORD your God is gracious and compassionate, כִּי־חַנּוּן וְרַחוּם יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵיכֶם" (2 Chr 30:9). In both Joel 2:13 and Jonah 4:2 this statement (כִּי־חַנּוּן וְרַחוּם) follows a charge to "return" (שׁוּבוּ, Joel 2:12, 13; Jon 3:8), a combination which may provide an additional paradigm for the Chronicler's usage.⁴⁹

Additional verbal echoes are observed in Hezekiah's third non-synoptic speech which occurs in the context of Sennacherib's threatened attack. The Chronistic presentation diverges from the accounts in 2 Kgs 18-19 and Isa 36-37 by portraying Hezekiah in 2 Chr 32:2-8 diverting the water supply into the city, building up the walls, making weapons and shields, and organizing combat commanders over the people in an attempt to avert Sennacherib's intentions against Jerusalem. These efforts to fortify the city are accompanied by a speech given by Hezekiah intended to likewise fortify the inhabitants of the city:

Be strong [חֲזָקוּ] and courageous. Do not be afraid or dismayed [אַל־תִּירָאוּ] before the king of Assyria and all the horde that is with him, for there are more with us [עִמָּנוּ] than with him. With him is an arm of flesh עֲמּוֹ [זְרֹעַ בָּשָׂר], but with us is the LORD our God [יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵינוּ], to help us and to fight our battles. (2 Chr 32:7-8)

whereas in the Chronistic presentation, Hezekiah's reforms and this speech occur immediately upon his accession to the throne (2 Chr 29:3). Hugh Williamson's suggestion is more probable, that the expression refers to those Judeans who survived the Assyrian deportations during Ahaz's reign described in 2 Chr 28:20, *Israel in Chronicles*, 114-18. As an echo of Isaiah, the expression also evokes the situation of the Chronicler's post-exilic audience and the corresponding images of restoration linked to the remnant community in the literature of the Latter Prophets.

⁴⁸ Outside of these references, the two terms are juxtaposed in Gen 45:7; Ezr 9:14-15; Neh 1:2.

⁴⁹ See also the use of this saying in Ex 34:6; Ps 86:5, 15; 103:8; 111:4; 112:4; 116:5; 145:8.

It can be no coincidence that this passage contains a wordplay on Hezekiah's name, יְחִזְקִיָּהוּ, with the description of him “strengthening himself, וַיִּתְחַזַּק” (2 Chr 32:5), “strengthening the Millo in the city of David, וַיִּחְזַק אֶת־הַמִּלּוֹא עִיר דָּוִד” (2 Chr 32:5), and exhorting the people to “be strong, חֲזַקוּ” (2 Chr 32:7).⁵⁰ By portraying Hezekiah in this way, the Chronicler also creates an association with Isa 35:3-4 which states, “Strengthen [חֲזַקוּ] the weak hands, and make firm the feeble knees. Say to those who have an anxious heart, ‘Be strong [חֲזַקוּ]; fear not [אַל־תִּירָאוּ]! Behold, your God will come with vengeance, with the recompense of God. He will come and save you.’” In addition to echoing the root חזק, the familiar Isaianic אֶל־תִּירָא formula also appears in both passages. Furthermore, the repetition of the phrase “with us” (עִמָּנוּ) in Hezekiah's speech carries overtones of the Immanuel oracle of Isa 7:14,⁵¹ while the imagery of God's “arm” is analogous to several passages from Isaiah which use זְרוֹעַ in a similar way to express God's power (Isa 30:30; 33:2; 40:10-11; 48:14; 51:5, 9; 52:10; 53:1; 59:16; 62:8; 63:5, 12). Aside from this reference to זְרוֹעַ בָּשָׂר in 2 Chr 32:8, mention of an “arm of flesh” is only found in Isa 9:20 and Jer 17:5.⁵²

In each of the three speeches of Hezekiah in 2 Chronicles, it is clear that locutions which are distinctive of Isaiah and other books of the Latter Prophets have been placed on the lips of Hezekiah. As a result, Hezekiah assumes a prophetic role in the narrative, bringing the message of the Latter Prophets to bear on the portrayal of

⁵⁰ John Jarick, *2 Chronicles*, Readings: A New Biblical Commentary (Sheffield: Sheffield Phoenix Press, 2007), 170-71.

⁵¹ Jacob M. Myers, *II Chronicles*, AB (Garden City, New York: Doubleday, 1965) 187; Mason, *Preaching*, 112; Ackroyd, *Chronicles, Ezra, Nehemiah*, 192; Johnstone, *1 and 2 Chronicles*, Vol. 2, 214.

⁵² Von Rad, “Levitical Sermon,” 274; Mason, *Preaching the Tradition*, 112-13;

Judah's history. These verbal overtones to Isaianic literature in the Chronistic speeches strongly suggests that the Chronicler was exposed to Isaiah traditions. However, it could still be contested that the Chronicler's familiarity with traditions associated with Isaiah does not verify that the Isaianic version of the Hezekiah narrative in particular influenced the Chronistic account. In order to substantiate this claim that the Chronicler's portrayal of Hezekiah has been shaped by the version of the narrative in Isa 36-39, one must turn to thematic and ideological indicators of Isaianic influence since the literary resemblance between 2 Kgs 18-20 and Isa 36-39 rules out the possibility of relying on shared locutions. Therefore, attention will now be drawn to thematic and conceptual correspondences between Isaiah's account of Hezekiah and the Chronistic portrayal.

Thematic Correspondences between Isa 36-39 and 2 Chr 29-32

In the previous chapter, it was argued that the book of Isaiah presents the period of Hezekiah's reign as a symbol of Judah's future hope. One way that this is achieved is through the contrasting portrayals of Ahaz and Hezekiah which function as illustrations of exile and restoration. It will be shown in the following analysis that the Chronicler likewise depicts the reigns of Ahaz and Hezekiah so that they metaphorically convey periods of exile and restoration. Furthermore, Chronicles embellishes the details of the character of Hezekiah and the period of his reign using concepts and images which correspond to Israel's idealized restoration as articulated in Isaiah. This thematic convergence between the two compositions reveals the Chronicler's awareness of Isaiah's portrayal of Hezekiah.

Each version of the Hezekiah narrative in 2 Kings, Isaiah, and 2 Chronicles presents Hezekiah as a contrasting figure to his father Ahaz, but in each account, this

effect is achieved through different means. The Chronicler draws on elements from both 2 Kings and Isaiah, as well as incorporating several features of his own design, to present Hezekiah's reign as an antithesis to that of Ahaz.

Like 2 Kings, the Chronistic portrayal of Ahaz presents the era of his reign as one of severe spiritual decline. Corresponding to the account in 2 Kgs 16, Ahaz is depicted burning his sons as an offering and sacrificing and making offerings on the high places (2 Chr 28:3-4//2 Kgs 16:3-4). He replicates the altar at Damascus and makes sacrifices on it (2 Chr 28:23; 2 Kgs 16:10-16). Additionally, he cuts into pieces several of the vessels from the temple (2 Chr 28:24; 2 Kgs 16:17). Furthermore, the Chronicler expands the depiction of Ahaz's spiritual waywardness by stating that he made metal images for the Baals (2 Chr 28:2), shut up the doors of the house of the LORD (2 Chr 28:24), and dispersed altars and high places throughout Jerusalem and the cities of Judah (2 Chr 28:24-25).

The portrayal of Hezekiah's reign in 2 Chronicles underscores that it was a time of spiritual renewal, in contrast to that of his father Ahaz. In an expansion of 2 Kgs 18:4, the Chronistic account elaborately describes Hezekiah's purification of the cult. The structure of this section depicts Hezekiah's direct reversal of each feature of Ahaz's spiritual disloyalty. While Ahaz established false worship in the temple and throughout Jerusalem and Judah, Hezekiah is described as meticulously removing improper cultic artefacts in widening concentric circles, beginning with the temple (2 Chr 29:15-19), reaching out to the city (2 Chr 30:14), and extending to the surrounding towns of Judah (2 Chr 31:1). Where 2 Chr 28:24 provides the non-synoptic detail that Ahaz "shut up the doors [אֶת־דִּלְתוֹת] of the house of the LORD," the Hezekiah narrative echoes this detail, stating that the former generation "shut the doors [סָגְרוּ דִּלְתוֹת] of the vestibule" (2 Chr 29:7). In contrast, Hezekiah is

presented as the king who, “In the first year of his reign, in the first month,...opened the doors [פָּתַח אֶת־דִּלְתוֹת] of the house of the LORD and repaired them” (2 Chr 29:3). Similarly, in his speech to the Levites, Hezekiah states, “Our fathers have been unfaithful [מַעֲלִין]” (2 Chr 29:6), which recalls the previous chapter where Ahaz is twice described with the root מַעַל (2 Chr 28:19, 22, both non-synoptic). Later, Ahaz is explicitly mentioned when the Levites report back to Hezekiah, stating, “All the utensils that King Ahaz discarded in his reign when he was faithless [בְּמַעֲלֹו], we have made ready and consecrated” (2 Chr 29:19). Each time the Babylonian captivity is mentioned in Chronicles it is explicitly described as judgment for Judah’s מַעַל (1 Chr 5:25; 9:1; 2 Chr 36:14-20), thus providing an initial indication that the reign of Ahaz, which is characterized by מַעַל, functions in Chronicles as a symbol of the nation’s exile, analogous to the significance of Ahaz in the book of Isaiah.

This theme of exile applied to Ahaz is more unambiguously revealed through the Chronicler’s *political* portrayal of his reign. Several non-synoptic notices in 2 Chronicles indicate that the period of Ahaz’s rule was characterized by military defeat and captivity. In 2 Chr 28:5, it is stated that “God gave [Ahaz] into the hand of the king of Syria who defeated him and took captive a great number of his people and brought them to Damascus. He was also given into the hand of the king of Israel, who struck him with great force.” Furthermore, the Chronicler recounts military defeats at the hands of Edom, Philistia, and Assyria. On three distinct occasions, according to Chronicles, captives were deported during the reign of Ahaz (2 Chr 28:5, 8, 17). This captivity during Ahaz’s reign is underscored in the Hezekiah narrative where Hezekiah asserts that as a result of their unfaithfulness, “Our fathers have fallen by

the sword, and our sons and our daughters and our wives are in captivity for this” (2 Chr 29:9). A very different portrayal of Ahaz’s military career is provided in 2 Kings. Not only are the defeats by Edom, Philistia, and Assyria not mentioned, but a joint threat from Syria and Ephraim is unsuccessful: “They besieged Ahaz but could not conquer him” (2 Kgs 16:5). There is no indication in 2 Kings that Judeans were taken captive during Ahaz’s reign. This modified presentation of Ahaz in 2 Chronicles vis-à-vis 2 Kings creates an account of his kingship in terms reminiscent of Judah’s exile, akin to the portrayal of Ahaz in the book of Isaiah.

In contrast to the exilic overtones throughout the Chronistic account of Ahaz’s reign, Hezekiah’s reign is depicted in terms that correspond to descriptions of the nation’s restoration from exile. This role for Hezekiah is achieved through the amalgamation of two elements in the Chronistic presentation. The first is a portrayal of Hezekiah in terms that resemble the Chronicler’s depictions of David and Solomon. The second is the incorporation of Isaianic images of restoration into the portrayal of Hezekiah and the era of his reign. These features combine to present Hezekiah as an embodiment of ideal kingship associated with the nation’s restoration.

Within the book of Chronicles, David and Solomon function as prototypes of ideal kingship.⁵³ By emulating several qualities of David and Solomon, Hezekiah is similarly portrayed as an ideal king. Of Hezekiah, 2 Chr 29:2 says, “he did what was right in the eyes of the LORD, according to all that David his father had done.” Hezekiah’s temple reform is in accordance with the commands of David (2 Chr 29:25, 30). He even echoes the words used by David to speak of his intention of building a

⁵³ Ackroyd, *Chronicles, Ezra, Nehemiah*, 182; Roddy L. Braun, "Solomonic Apologetic in Chronicles," *JBL* 92 (1973): 503-16; Hugh G. M. Williamson, "The Accession of Solomon in the Books of Chronicles," *VT* 26 (1976): 351-61; Dillard, *2 Chronicles*, 227-29; Throntveit, *When Kings Speak*, 121-25; idem, "The Relationship of Hezekiah to David and Solomon in the Books of Chronicles," in *The Chronicler as Theologian*, ed. Steven L. McKenzie, M. Patrick Graham, and Gary N. Knoppers, JSOTSup 371 (London, New York: T & T Clark, 2003), 105-21.

temple: “I had it in my heart, **אֲנִי הָיָה עִם־לִבִּי**” (1 Chr 22:7; 2 Chr 29:10).⁵⁴ Like David and Solomon, Hezekiah appoints priests and Levites (1 Chr 23-24; 2 Chr 8:14; 31:2), contributes from his own property for the burnt offering (1 Chr 29:1-5; 2 Chr 9:10-11; 31:3), and reunifies the tribes of Israel in accordance with the state of the kingdom under David and Solomon prior to the division of the monarchy.

Association of Hezekiah with Solomon is further seen in his celebration of the Passover for two weeks (2 Chr 7:8-9; 30:23-26)⁵⁵ and in the fact that, like Solomon, his attention toward the temple is depicted as his first act upon assuming the throne (2 Chr 2:12; 29:3).⁵⁶ In particular, Solomon’s non-synoptic remarks about the temple as a place, “for burnt offerings morning and evening, on the Sabbaths and the new moons and the appointed feasts of the LORD our God, as ordained forever for Israel, **וְעֹלוֹת לַבֶּקֶר וְלָעֶרֶב לְשַׁבָּתוֹת וְלַחֲדָשִׁים וְלִמְוֻעָדֵי יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵינוּ לְעוֹלָם זֹאת עַל־יִשְׂרָאֵל**” (2 Chr 2:3 [2:4 EV]) are echoed in the description of Hezekiah’s restoration which includes making provision for, “the burnt offerings of morning and evening, and the burnt offerings for the Sabbaths, the new moons, and the appointed feasts, as it is written in the Law of the LORD, **וְהָעֹלֹת וְהָעֶרֶב וְהַבֶּקֶר לְשַׁבָּתוֹת וְלַחֲדָשִׁים וְלִמְוֻעָדִים**, **לְעֹלוֹת הַבֶּקֶר וְהָעֶרֶב וְהָעֹלֹת לְשַׁבָּתוֹת וְלַחֲדָשִׁים וְלִמְוֻעָדִים**” (2 Chr 31:3).⁵⁷

Furthermore, Hezekiah’s prayer of intercession on behalf of the people (2 Chr 30:18-19) recalls Solomon’s intercessory prayer at the dedication of the temple (2 Chr 6:14-42). In response to Solomon’s prayer, God provides a blueprint for the people’s restitution when they sin: “If my people who are called by my name humble

⁵⁴ These are the only two occurrences of this phrase in Chronicles. Johnstone, *1 and 2 Chronicles*, Vol. 2, 191.

⁵⁵ Jacob M. Myers, *II Chronicles*, AB (Garden City, New York: Doubleday, 1965), 179; Ackroyd, *Chronicles, Ezra, Nehemiah*, 186; Williamson, *Israel in the Book of Chronicles*, 120.

⁵⁶ Dillard, *2 Chronicles*, 234.

⁵⁷ Williamson, *Israel* 121-22.

themselves, and pray and seek my face and turn from their wicked ways, then I will hear from heaven and will forgive their sin and heal their land, וַיִּכְנְעוּ עַמִּי אֲשֶׁר, נִקְרָא-שְׁמִי עֲלֵיהֶם וַיִּתְפַּלְלוּ וַיִּבְקְשׁוּ פָנַי וַיֵּשְׁבוּ מִדְּרֹכֵיהֶם הָרָעִים וְאֲנִי אֶשְׁמַע מִן-הַשָּׁמַיִם וְאֶסְלַח לָהֶם (2 Chr 7:14). The depiction of the nation's re-dedication under Hezekiah follows this blueprint precisely. The repetition of several key words from 2 Chr 7:14 make this connection explicit, including, בָּנֵעַ, "humble" (2 Chr 30:11), פָּלַל, "pray" (2 Chr 30:18), דִּרַשׁ, "seek" (2 Chr 30:19),⁵⁸ שׁוּב, "turn" (2 Chr 30:9), שָׁמַע, "hear" (2 Chr 30:20), and רָפָא, "heal" (2 Chr 30:20).⁵⁹ Finally, the Chronicler unambiguously draws a parallel between the period of Hezekiah and the reign of Solomon with the statement, "For since the time of Solomon the son of David king of Israel there had been nothing like this in Jerusalem" (2 Chr 30:26).

Not only does Hezekiah resemble David and Solomon in the Chronistic portrayal, but he is also depicted in terms reminiscent of the Isaianic description of the dynastic ideal. A recurring theme in Isaiah's restoration expectations is the presence of a righteous king ruling over Israel (Isa 7:13-15; 9:5-6 [9:6-7 EV]; 11:1-5; 16:5:32:1). This theme is introduced in the book with a royal oracle promising the birth of a child designated as Immanuel (Isa 7:13-15). Several features indicate that within the context of the book of Isaiah, the oracle points toward Ahaz's successor, Hezekiah.⁶⁰

⁵⁸ Use of דִּרַשׁ here is synonymous with בִּקֵּשׁ in 2 Chr 7:14.

⁵⁹ Williamson, *1 and 2 Chronicles*, 368; Dillard, *2 Chronicles*, 243.

⁶⁰ The identity of the Immanuel figure in Isaiah is much debated. The view of Jerome, Rashi, Ibn Ezra, as well as several modern interpreters is that Immanuel was the son of the prophet Isaiah. This is based largely on the series of three sign-names in Isa 7:2-8:4 (see also Isa 8:18) in which the first and third refer explicitly to Isaiah's children. Additional features which obscure the identification of Hezekiah as Immanuel are the synchronic notices in 2 Kgs 16:2 and 18:2 indicating that in 733 BCE when this oracle was delivered, Hezekiah was already sixteen or seventeen years old. However, biblical chronology for this point in history is especially muddled (e.g., 2 Kgs 15:30 and 16:5). Several scholars reconcile these literary tensions by concluding that the identification of Immanuel as Isaiah's son

First, the oracle is addressed to the house of David (Isa 7:2, 13, 17), and the Immanuel sign is given in response to circumstances which directly threaten the Davidic succession of the dynasty.⁶¹ Possible overtones to Nathan's dynastic oracle of 2 Sam 7:16 are heard in Isaiah's words to Ahaz, "If you are not firm in faith, you will not be firm at all" (Isa 7:9).⁶² Mention of Immanuel's role in Isa 8:7-10, which probably alludes to the Assyrian crisis,⁶³ foreshadows the portrayal of Hezekiah in Isa 36-39.⁶⁴ The contrasting depiction of Ahaz and Hezekiah in the book of Isaiah further strengthens the notion that the successor referred to in Isa 7:14 is Ahaz's faithful son Hezekiah, as does the Deuteronomistic statement regarding Hezekiah that "the LORD was with him" (2 Kgs 18:7).⁶⁵ Finally, identification of the prophesied successor in Isa 7:10-17 with Hezekiah finds confirmation in the annunciation of a royal birth in

represents an early layer in the redaction-history of the book. At a later time, the oracle was reapplied to Hezekiah and appropriate redactions were made to highlight this function of the material. For more thorough discussions of the issues, see Johann Jakob Stamm, "La prophétie d'Emmanuel," *RHPR* 23 (1943): 1-26; Norman K. Gottwald, "Immanuel as the Prophet's Son," *VT* 8 (1958): 36-47; Jimmy Jack McBee Roberts, "Isaiah and his Children," in *Biblical and Related Studies Presented to Samuel Iwry*, ed. Ann Kort and Scott Morschauser (Winona Lake, Indiana: Eisenbrauns, 1985), 193-203; Clements, "Immanuel Prophecy of Isa. 7:10-17."

⁶¹ Isa 7:6 indicates that the Syro-Ephraimite coalition intended to depose Ahaz and replace him with a puppet-king, Tabeel. Compare 2 Kgs 16:5-6 where the dynastic implications of the threat are not mentioned. Williamson, "Messianic Texts," 251.

⁶² The wordplay in Isa 7:9 – **אִם לֹא תִאֶמְנִינוּ כִּי לֹא תִאֶמְנִינוּ** – based on the root **אָמַן** – echoes the promise that David's house and kingdom would be **וְיָאֲמַן...עַד-עוֹלָם** (2 Sam 7:16). Ibid.

⁶³ Isa 8:7 states, "Behold, the LORD is bringing up against them the waters of the River, mighty and many, the king of Assyria and all his glory" and repeats the name Immanuel in Isa 8:8 and 10.

⁶⁴ Joseph Blenkinsopp, *Isaiah 1-39: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary*, AB 19 (New York: Doubleday, 2000), 234.

⁶⁵ Clements, "Immanuel Prophecy," 74; Seitz, *Isaiah 1-39*, 70-71.

Isa 9:5-6 [9:6-7 EV].⁶⁶ The close proximity of these two royal oracles⁶⁷ implies the association of the Immanuel of Isa 7:14 with the royal heir of Isa 9:5-6.⁶⁸

The subsequent royal oracles in First Isaiah recapitulate and expand the dynastic expectation reflected in Isa 7:14 and 9:5-6.⁶⁹ Hugh Williamson points out that all the royal oracles emphasize divinely appointed leadership as a feature of God's broader purposes for Zion.⁷⁰ The king functions as an agent of God who establishes and sustains an ideal society characterized by justice and righteousness.⁷¹ The role of the king in maintaining this social paradigm is highlighted in the description of him as one who "knows how to refuse the evil and choose the good [בְּטוֹב]" (Isa 7:15). Furthermore, Isaiah declares, "Then a throne will be established in steadfast love [בְּחֶסֶד], and on it will sit in faithfulness [בְּאֵמֶת] in the tent of David one who judges and seeks justice and is swift to do righteousness" (Isa 16:5). Several of

⁶⁶ Identification of the child born in Isa 9:6 with Hezekiah is discussed by Barth, *Jesaja-Worte*, 141-77; Clements, *Isaiah 1-39*, 103-09; Seitz, *Isaiah 1-39*, 84-87; Sweeney, *Isaiah 1-39*, 175-99.

⁶⁷ Most scholars view Isa 6:1-9:6 as a unified segment. Karl Budde argued that this passage is an early independent "book" of original Isaianic material which he labelled *Denkschrift*. See his, *Jesaja's Erleben: Eine gemeinverständliche Auslegung der Denkschrift des Propheten (Kap. 6,1-9,6)* (Gotha: Leopold Klotz Verlag, 1928). Though scholars have generally retained Budde's title and delineation for this section, most endorse the premise that editorial and redactional activity contributed to its composition. H. Graf Reventlow's rejection of a prophetic memoir altogether is a minority view, "Das Ende der sog. 'Denkschrift' Jesajas," *BN* 38/39 (1987): 62-67.

⁶⁸ Ronald Clements suggests that this is an effect of editorial shaping with the result that the original referent of the sign (a child of the prophet) has been made to foretell the accession of Hezekiah in whom were invested hopes for a revival of the Davidic dynasty. This hope later gave way to messianic and Christological interpretations of Isa 7:14 following the demise of the Davidic dynasty, "Immanuel Prophecy of Isa. 7:10-17"; idem, "The Davidic Covenant in the Isaiah Tradition," in *Covenant as Context: Essays in Honour of E. W. Nicholson*, ed. Andrew David Hasting Mayes and Robert B. Salter (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), 39-67. See also Wegner, *Examination of Kingship*.

⁶⁹ Shemaryahu Talmon, "The Concepts of Mashiach and Messianism in Early Judaism," in *The Messiah: Developments in Earliest Judaism and Christianity*, ed. James H. Charlesworth (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1992), 79-115 (95-97).

⁷⁰ Williamson, "Messianic Texts," 238-70.

⁷¹ Hugh Williamson describes the word pair מִשְׁפָּט וְצֶדֶק as "almost a catch-phrase for Isaiah's understanding of the ideal society." Cf. Isa 1:27; 9: 6 [7 EV]; 16:5; 28:17; 32:1, 16; 33:5; 56:1. Ibid., 243, n. 11. See also H. Graf Reventlow and Yair Hoffman, eds., *Justice and Righteousness: Biblical Themes and their Influence*, JSOTSup 137 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1992); Daniel Schibler, "Messianism and Messianic Prophecy in Isaiah 1-12 and 28-33," in *The Lord's Anointed: Interpretation of Old Testament Messianic Texts*, ed. Philip E. Satterthwaite, Richard S. Hess, and Gordon J. Wenham (Carlisle and Grand Rapids: Paternoster Press and Baker Books, 1995), 87-104.

these elements are utilized in the Chronistic portrayal of Hezekiah where it is asserted that “he did what was good and right and faithful before the LORD his God, וַיַּעַשׂ הַטּוֹב וְהַצֶּדֶק וְהַאֱמֻנָה לִפְנֵי יְהוָה אֱלֹהָיו” (2 Chr 31:20) and he is attributed with “good deeds, חֲסִדָּיו” (2 Chr 32:32).

In addition to these descriptive terms, the overall portrayal of Hezekiah in Chronicles provides an illustration of a king who rules “with justice and with righteousness, בְּמִשְׁפָּט וּבִצְדָקָה” (Isa 9:6 [EV 9:7]; also 11:3; 16:5; 32:1). Hezekiah reforms the cult and reinstitutes proper worship, which, the Chronicler is careful to convey, is undertaken in accordance with God’s commands (2 Chr 29:15, 25; 30:12, 16; 31:3, 4, 21). He instructs the priests and Levites to consecrate themselves (2 Chr 29:5) and to renew their covenant to God (2 Chr 29:10); he commands that offerings and sacrifices be made (2 Chr 29:21, 24, 27, 31), that Passover be observed (2 Chr 30:1, 6), and that tithes be given (2 Chr 31:4); and he commands that the people of Israel and Judah return to God (2 Chr 30:6-9). By portraying Hezekiah in this way, the Chronicler presents him as a figural embodiment of Isaiah’s prophetic hopes.

Not only does the figure of Hezekiah embody Isaiah’s dynastic ideal, but the era of his reign emulates descriptions in Isaiah of the nation’s glorious restoration after exile. As will be seen, these restoration overtones are not confined to the book of Isaiah but at times are communicated in other portions of the Latter Prophets as well. By emphasizing features which are common to several prophetic traditions, the Chronicler demonstrates his fundamental perception of the internal harmony and unified intention of the literature. However, in order to foreground the correspondences between Chronicles and Isaiah, the passages from the wider corpus of the Latter Prophets will be pointed out in the footnotes.

The audience of Hezekiah's second non-synoptic speech is all Israel and Judah "from Beersheba to Dan" (2 Chr 30:5). This familiar Deuteronomistic expression signifies the unified tribes of Israel and Judah prior to the division of the monarchy (2 Sam 3:10; 17:11; 24:2, 15; 1 Kgs 4:25) and invokes a reunification of the tribes to worship together in Jerusalem.⁷² Although not all the tribes accept the invitation (2 Chr 30:10), a significant portion do (2 Chr 30:11, 25; 31:6).⁷³ In a reconciliatory gesture, the people agree to celebrate the Passover twice in order to accommodate the calendar incongruities between Judah and the northern tribes of Ephraim, Manasseh, Issachar, and Zebulun (cf. 2 Chr 30:18-20).⁷⁴ Such reunification of Israel and Judah is a component of the restoration programme depicted by the prophet Isaiah: "[The LORD] will assemble the banished of Israel, and gather the dispersed of Judah from the four corners of the earth.... Ephraim shall not be jealous of Judah, and Judah shall not harass Ephraim" (Isa 11:12-13).⁷⁵

In response to Hezekiah's speeches, the priests, Levites, and wider community purge the temple and land of foreign objects of worship (2 Chr 29:15-19; 30:14; 31:1), a reaction which similarly bears overtones of Isaiah's anticipated restoration: "Then you will defile your carved idols overlaid with silver and your gold-plated metal images. You will scatter them as unclean things. You will say to them 'Be gone!'" (Isa 30:22).⁷⁶ In addition, the people who hear Hezekiah's admonition consecrate themselves and are pardoned of their iniquity (2 Chr 29:20-24, 31; 30:18-20), correlating to the image of restoration described by Isaiah in which the remnant of

⁷² Williamson, *Israel* 123-24; Japhet, *Ideology of Chronicles*, 352-363

⁷³ Mark Throntveit argues that the reunification of Judah and Israel under Hezekiah forms an *inclusio* around the period of the divided monarchy, *When Kings Speak*, 114-20. However, Chronicles does not portray a full unification of the tribes, nor is it explicit in Chronicles that Hezekiah's unification of the North and South is permanent. *Contra* Williamson, *Israel*, 131. Instead, the portrayal of each king seems to be independently schematized according to descriptions of exile or restoration.

⁷⁴ Hjelm, *Jerusalem's Rise*, 31-32.

⁷⁵ The reunification of the tribes of Israel is also anticipated in other prophetic literature: Jer 23:3; 31:10; Ezek 34:10-16; 37:19, 22; Mic 5:3; Zeph 3:10.

⁷⁶ Elimination of idols is also described in Ezek 36:25-7; 37:23; Hos 2:16; Mic 5:13; Zech 13:2.

Jerusalem is cleansed of guilt and forgiven of sin (Isa 4:3-4; 12:1; 33:24; 40:2; 43:25; 44:22). The Chronicler describes this spiritual cleansing as “healing” (רפא): “And the LORD heard Hezekiah and healed the people, וַיִּשְׁמַע יְהוָה אֶל־יַחֲזַקְיָהוּ וַיִּרְפָּא אֶת־הָעָם:” (2 Chr 30:20). Use of this word recalls the Isaianic metaphor of Israel’s sin as sickness and God’s forgiveness as healing which comes through particularly in the account of Hezekiah’s illness and recovery in Isa 38:1-22, where the king functions as a metaphor for the city (see also Isa 1:5-6; 33:24; 53:5). In light of this, the Chronicler’s use of the term רפא is particularly significant and brings to mind passages such as Isa 57:18-19 where restoration is described as “healing”:⁷⁷

“I have seen his ways, but I will heal him [וַאֲרַפְאֵהוּ];
I will lead him and restore comfort to him and his mourners,
creating the fruit of the lips.
Peace, peace, to the far and to the near,” says the LORD,
“and I will heal him [וַיִּרְפְּאֵהוּ].”

In both 2 Chronicles and Isaiah, this spiritual healing results in the offering of sacrifices and great celebration (2 Chr 29:27-36; 30:20-27; 31:5-12; Isa 9:3; 30:29; 51:3).⁷⁸

By portraying Hezekiah as an ideal king and incorporating prophetic overtones of restoration into the presentation of his reign, the narrative of the Assyrian crisis in 2 Chr 32:1-23 is presented as a picture of God’s ultimate salvation of his people, the same salvation adumbrated in Isaiah. The account of Sennacherib’s failed invasion concludes with the report:

⁷⁷ Other passages in the Latter Prophets where רפא is used to describe the nation’s restoration are Jer 3:22; 30:17; 33:6; Hos 14:4.

⁷⁸ Voluntary offerings and sacrifices are also described as a component of the nation’s restoration in Jer 17:26; Ezek 20:34, 40-41; Zech 14:16.

So the LORD saved [וַיִּשָּׁעַ] Hezekiah and the inhabitants of Jerusalem from the hand of Sennacherib king of Assyria and from the hand of all his enemies, and he provided for them on every side.⁷⁹ And many brought gifts to the LORD to Jerusalem [לְיְרוּשָׁלַם לְיְהוָה לְמִנְחָה מִבְּיָאִים מֵרָבִים] and precious things to Hezekiah king of Judah, so that he was exalted in the sight of all nations [וַיִּנָּשָׂא] [לְעֵינֵי כָל־הַגּוֹיִם] from that time onward. (2 Chr 32:22-23)

This interpretive summary emphasizes God's role in saving Jerusalem from destruction and the response of the nations who bring honour and tribute when they see God's preservation of his people. Isaiah's description of restoration similarly includes the affirmation that God is Israel's salvation. According to the prophet, "in that day" the people will acknowledge, "Behold, God is my salvation [יְשׁוּעָתִי]...The LORD God is my strength and my song, and he has become my salvation [לְיְשׁוּעָה]" (Isa 12:2) and "The LORD is our king; he will save us [וַיִּשְׁעֵנוּ]" (Isa 33:22).

Furthermore, it is not only Israel who will recognize God's sovereignty, but in the "latter days" the nations will also gather in Jerusalem to bring honour and gifts to the LORD and to the inhabitants of Israel (Isa 11:10;⁸⁰ 18:7; 49:23; 60:3-14; 61:6-11; 66:18-20).⁸¹ The book of Isaiah closes with an image of all the nations coming to Jerusalem to see the glory of God: "The time is coming to gather all nations and tongues. And they shall come and shall see my glory" (Isa 66:18). As with the

⁷⁹ Compare the alternative reading of the LXX, καὶ κατέπαυσεν αὐτούς, which might be based on a slight emendation of וַיִּנְהַלֵם "and he provided for them" to וַיִּנְחַם לָהֶם "he gave them rest." This reading further strengthens the parallel between Hezekiah and Solomon as kings who enjoyed rest during their reigns.

⁸⁰ This passage which describes the exaltation of the "root of Jesse" also states that "his resting place shall be glorious," which may illuminate the Chronistic addition to Hezekiah's burial notice in 2 Chr 32:33, Ackroyd, "Death of Hezekiah," 172-80.

⁸¹ This image of the nations bringing honour and/or tribute to the LORD in Jerusalem is also depicted in Jer 3:17; Mic 4:1-2; Zeph 3:9-10; Zech 2:11; 8:20-23; Mal 3:12.

portrayal of Hezekiah's reign in Chronicles, the nations will bring מְנַחָה לַיהוָה to Jerusalem, but in Isaiah's vision of restoration it is the exiles themselves who comprise the gift which is brought to the LORD: "And they shall bring all your brothers from all the nations as an offering to the LORD...to my holy mountain Jerusalem, says the LORD, וְהָבִיאוּ אֶת-כָּל-אֶחָיְכֶם מִכָּל-הַגּוֹיִם מְנַחָה לַיהוָה...עַל הַר קֹדֶשׁ, יְהוָה אֵלֵינוּ" (Isa 66:20).⁸² This similar imagery and phraseology between the Chronicistic portrayal of Hezekiah's reign and the restoration anticipated in Isaiah continues in 2 Chr 32:23 with the declaration that Hezekiah "was exalted in the sight of all nations, וַיִּנָּשָׂא לְעֵינֵי כָל-הַגּוֹיִם." The expression לְעֵינֵי כָל-הַגּוֹיִם occurs elsewhere in the Hebrew Bible only in Isa 52:10⁸³ which provides a particularly appropriate intertext for the Chronicler's description of the aftermath of Assyria's attempted invasion of Jerusalem: "The LORD has bared his holy arm before the eyes of all the nations, and all the ends of the earth shall see the salvation of our God, חֲשֹׁף יְהוָה אֶת-זְרוֹעוֹ קֹדֶשׁ לְעֵינֵי כָל-הַגּוֹיִם וְרָאוּ כָל-אֶפְסֵי-אֲרֶץ אֶת יְשׁוּעַת אֱלֹהֵינוּ:"⁸⁴ This verse not only echoes the זְרוֹעַ ("arm") imagery in Hezekiah's speech in 2 Chr 32:8, but emphasizes God's יְשׁוּעַת ("salvation") which is likewise accentuated in 2 Chr 32:22. The fact that in Isaiah these words are uttered in response to God's ultimate redemption of

⁸² These are the only two depictions in the Hebrew Bible of foreign nations bringing מְנַחָה לַיהוָה to the LORD in Jerusalem. Cf. other occurrences of מְנַחָה לַיהוָה in Gen 4:3; Lev 2:1; Ezek 46:14; Mal 2:12.

⁸³ Compare the expression לְעֵינֵי הַגּוֹיִם in Lev 26:45; Ezek 5:8; 20:9, 14, 22, 41; 22:16; 28:25; 29:27; 38:23; Ps 98:2, and לְעֵינֵי כָל-הָעָם in Jer 28:11.

⁸⁴ This verse undoubtedly shares a literary relationship with Ps 98:1b-2: "His right hand and his holy arm have worked salvation for him. The LORD has made known his salvation; he has revealed his righteousness in the sight of the nations, הוֹשִׁיעָה-לּוֹ יְמִינוֹ וְזְרוֹעַ קֹדֶשׁ: הוֹדִיעַ יְהוָה יְשׁוּעָתוֹ לְעֵינֵי הַגּוֹיִם גְּלָה צְדָקָתוֹ:"

Jerusalem (Isa 52:9) further underscores that the Chronicler is, in his portrayal of Hezekiah, hinting at this anticipated restoration described in Isaiah.

Rudolph Mosis, in his analysis of the reign of Solomon, argues that the descriptions of the king's dealings with Hiram (2 Chr 2:3-16) and the Queen of Sheba (2 Chr 9:1-9) echo the prophetic anticipation of the eschatological pilgrimage of all nations to Jerusalem.⁸⁵ Thus the statement in 2 Chr 9:23-24 refers typologically to Israel's restoration: "And all the kings of the earth sought the presence of Solomon to hear his wisdom, which God had put into his mind. Every one of them brought his present, articles of silver and of gold, garments, myrrh, spices, horses, and mules, so much year by year." In light of the schematization which the Chronicler has created between Solomon and Hezekiah, the description of the nations bringing gifts to Hezekiah provides a similar analogy between Hezekiah's reign and the restoration ideal described by the Latter Prophets.⁸⁶

This idealization is reinforced yet again through closer examination of the Chronicler's expanded description of Hezekiah's wealth in 2 Chr 32:27-30 which contains parallels to both the Chronistic portrayal of Solomon's reign and to the idealized restoration era described by Isaiah.

And Hezekiah had very great riches and honour [עֲשֹׂר וְכָבוֹד], and he made for himself treasuries for silver, for gold, [וְאֶצְרוֹת עֲשֵׂה-לֹו לְכֶסֶף וְלָזָהָב], for precious stones for spices [וְלִאֲבָן יָקָרָה וְלִבְשָׁמִים], for shields, and for all kinds of costly vessels [וְלִמְגָנִים וְלִכָּל כֵּלֵי הַמָּדָה]; storehouses [וּמִסְכָּנוֹת] also for the yield of grain, wine, and oil; and stalls for all kinds of cattle, and sheepfolds. He likewise provided cities [וְעָרִים] for himself, and flocks and herds in abundance, for God had given him very great possessions. This same Hezekiah closed the upper outlet of the waters of Gihon and directed them down to the west side of

⁸⁵ Mosis, *Untersuchungen*, 155-62.

⁸⁶ Williamson, *Israel* 123.

the city of David. And Hezekiah prospered [וַיִּצְלַח] in all his works. (2 Chr 32:27-30).

The presence of several of these same features in the depiction of Solomon strengthens the Chronistic presentation of Hezekiah as a second Solomon. Solomon is described in similar terms as having riches and honour (וְעֵשֶׂר וּנְכָסִים וְכְבוֹד, 2 Chr 1:12//1 Kgs 3:13);⁸⁷ of adding gold, silver, and vessels to the treasuries (וְאֶת־הַבְּסָף, 2 Chr 5:1//1 Kgs 7:51); of being in possession of spices and precious stones (וּבְשָׁמִים לָרֹב מְאֹד וְאֶבֶן יָקָרָה, 2 Chr 9:9//1 Kgs 10:10); and of establishing store-cities and cities for his chariots and horsemen (וְאֶת כָּל־עָרָיו, 2 Chr 8:6//1 Kgs 9:19).

In addition, though not containing verbal overtones to Isaiah's description of Judah's restoration, Hezekiah's wealth and expansion of cities, does echo the anticipation of building and expansion of cities in Judah (Isa 44:26; 45:13; 61:4) and prosperity (Isa 60:17; 61:7; 65:21-22) as components of the nation's return from exile. Mention of Hezekiah's treasuries of gold and silver in 2 Chr 32:27 contrasts with the portrayal in 2 Kgs 18:15-16 which describes the depletion of all gold and silver from the city when Hezekiah paid tribute to Sennacherib. In contrast, this description in Chronicles corresponds to the restoration depicted in Isaiah in which gold and silver will replace bronze and iron (Isa 60:17). The impression gained from the Chronistic depiction of Hezekiah's reign is that it was a spiritual and political high point

⁸⁷ Note the inverted order in 1 Kgs 3:13: גָּם־כְּבוֹד גָּם־עֵשֶׂר.

resembling depictions of the nation's ultimate restoration from exile articulated in Isaiah.

Conclusion

From this study of the Hezekiah narrative in Chronicles it is clear that although the *character* of Isaiah the prophet is conspicuously absent in the Chronicler's account, the presence of the *literature* which bears his name is ubiquitous in the narrative through allusion to Isaianic language, images, and themes of restoration. By placing distinctively prophetic language on the lips of Hezekiah, an analogy is created between the Chronistic description of his reign and the witness of Isaiah and other books of the Latter Prophets. Furthermore, by contrasting Hezekiah with his father Ahaz, Hezekiah's reign in Chronicles represents a movement from exile to restoration, as in the book of Isaiah. This restoration is portrayed as a paradigm of the final restoration anticipated in the Latter Prophets and Hezekiah is depicted in terms that resemble Isaiah's ideal king.

The Chronicler's adaptation of the Hezekiah narrative provides a window into his handling of antecedent texts. The Chronistic account reflects direct quotation of passages from the prior account of Judah's history as preserved in the book of Kings and retains a similar structure and sequence of the material, indicating a methodical reworking of concrete texts. On the other hand, the literary relationship between Chronicles and material from the Latter Prophets takes the form of allusions and thematic correspondences which are selected from across the scope of the literature. The influence of the Latter Prophets on the book of Chronicles is not subliminal or haphazard but reflects a deliberate integration of prophetic elements. This is evident in the Hezekiah narrative through the careful integration of prophetic language into

the Chronistic speeches and the modification of the portrayals of Ahaz and Hezekiah in light of images and motifs from the Latter Prophets. The Chronicler's tendency to cluster allusions from several different books of the Latter Prophets into a single speech or prose passage indicates his view of the "omni-coherence" of the prophetic witness. Furthermore, by infusing his account of history with these prophetic locutions and themes, the Chronicler demonstrates the enduring significance of the message of the Latter Prophets for his post-exilic audience.

Comparison of the three-fold telling of the story of Hezekiah in 2 Kings, Isaiah, and 2 Chronicles has illuminated the Chronicler's acquaintance with, perception of, and incorporation of material from the Latter Prophets. Immersion in prophetic literature and thought has transformed the Chronicler's view of Judah's history and consequently his retelling of the prior textual tradition. This is not the only place one finds this kind of intentional reworking by the Chronicler. In the three-fold repetition of the account of the fall of Judah in 2 Kings, Jeremiah, and 2 Chronicles, it is possible to observe a similar revision of the historical framework preserved in 2 Kings in light of Jeremianic language and theology. Analysis of this second passage in the following chapters will show, from another angle, how the Chronicler purposefully and systematically integrates verbal and thematic elements from 2 Kings and the Latter Prophets into his own version of the fall of Judah.

PART II

THE ACCOUNT OF THE FALL OF JUDAH:

2 KINGS 23:30b-25:30; JEREMIAH 52; 2 CHRONICLES 36

Chapter 4

THE FALL OF JUDAH IN 2 KINGS 23:30b-25:30 AND JEREMIAH 52

The account of the fall of Judah in 2 Kings 23:30b-25:30, Jeremiah 52, and 2 Chronicles 36 provides a second example of a passage which is repeated in three biblical contexts. Like the Hezekiah narrative, the account appears in 2 Kings, a book from the Latter Prophets, and 2 Chronicles and contains overlaps significant enough to warrant literary dependence, thus offering a second case study for comparing and contrasting the Chronicler's integration of prophetic literature vis-à-vis the version of the material in 2 Kings. As will be seen, a similar method of allusion characterizes the integration of language, themes, and images from the Latter Prophets in the Chronistic account of the fall of Judah. In particular, the Chronicler's presentation of the material reflects familiarity with the book of Jeremiah and a deliberate and systematic integration of Jeremianic language and themes into his own account. At the same time, subtle variations between the three biblical portrayals, combined with differences in the surrounding literary framework in which each appears, demonstrate that the reporting of this event functions in a distinct way in each context.

The fall of Judah was a defining moment in Israel's history, as evidenced by the attention biblical authors devoted to its anticipation, description, and consequences. Judah's exile raised important theological questions for the community, particularly related to the ongoing significance of God's covenant relationship and promises to his people. The literary fecundity that accompanied Judah's downfall is largely an attempt to deal with the interpretive dilemma of that event.¹ Lack of uniformity in how the crisis is presented indicates a variety of opinions about its meaning.² The appearance within Scripture of parallel reports of the destruction of Jerusalem provides an avenue for analyzing how the material was reworked in different literary contexts to achieve a variety of theological functions. Comparison of the account in 2 Kings, Jeremiah, and 2 Chronicles provides a window into the reuse of scriptural traditions and the reinterpretation of the meaning of exile and the nature of Israel's future hope. In this chapter, comparison of 2 Kgs 23:30b-25:30 and Jeremiah 52 will demonstrate the literary dependence of the two compositions upon each other and the distinct emphases of the material in each context.

Comparison of the Account of the Fall of Judah in 2 Kings and Jeremiah

The descriptions of Judah's demise from 587 BCE onwards are nearly identical in 2 Kgs 24:18-25:30 and Jer 52:1-34, as illustrated in the following chart.

¹ Walter Brueggemann and Hans Walter Wolff assert, "The issue of the exile was a profound alienation, alienation from city and temple, from land and accustom, but most of all from Yahweh and his promises – which now seemed false. It is perhaps a wonder that the exile was a time of such enormous literary activity; but we may understand it as a quest, perhaps a desperate quest, for ways of fidelity in a setting of estrangement," *The Vitality of Old Testament Traditions*, 2nd ed. (Atlanta: John Knox Press, 1982), 117.

² Several scholars have examined the biblical literature of the Babylonian and early Persian period through the rubric of how individuals and groups grappled with the question of God's faithfulness in light of the reality of Israel's demise and captivity. See, e.g., Gerhard von Rad, *Old Testament Theology*, vol. 2, *The Theology of Israel's Prophetic Traditions*, trans. D. M. G. Stalker (Edinburgh and London: Oliver and Boyd, 1965), 263-77; Peter Ackroyd, *Exile and Restoration: A Study of Hebrew Thought of the Sixth Century B.C.*, OTL (London: SCM Press, 1968); idem, *Studies in the Religious Tradition*.

Jeremiah picks up the narrative thread beginning with the account of Zedekiah's reign. Aside from this, the only considerable divergences between the accounts consist of the inclusion of a summary list of deportees in Jeremiah's version (Jer 52:28-30) and a description of Gedaliah's governorship in 2 Kgs 25:22-26 which, though not appearing in the final chapter of Jeremiah, is recounted in similar terms in Jer 40:5-41:3. These variances are indicated with grey shading in the structural comparison below.

Table 4.1: Comparison of the Account of the Fall of Judah in 2 Kings and Jeremiah

	<u>2 Kings</u>	<u>Jeremiah</u>
Reign of Jehoahaz; threat from Egypt	23:30b-34	
Reign of Jehoiakim; threat from Babylon, Syria, Moab, Ammon	23:35-24:7	
Reign of Jehoiachin; threat from Babylon; list of deportees	24:8-17	
Introductory report to the reign of Zedekiah, including a negative evaluation and declaration of God's judgment	24:18-20	52:1-3
Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon besieges Jerusalem	25:1-4	52:4-7 (cf. 39:1-4)
Chaldeans pursue Zedekiah and deport him to Babylon	25:5-7	52:8-11 (cf. 39:5-7)
Chaldeans burn Jerusalem and deport all but the poorest of the land to Babylon	25:8-12	52:12-16 (cf. 39:8-10)
Chaldeans plunder the Temple	25:13-17	52:17-23
Additional deportees taken to Babylon	25:18-21	52:24-27
Total accounting of deportees		52:28-30
Governorship of Gedaliah	25:22-26	(cf. 40:5-41:3)
Jehoiachin released from prison	25:27-30	52:31-34

As a result of the plusses and minuses created through the inclusion of 2 Kgs 23:30b-24:17; 25:22-26; and Jer 52:28-30, the overall presentation of Judah's demise is altered in each context. The account in 2 Kings presents the nation's loss of political power as a gradual decline over the course of four administrations. By depicting instances of captivity and military defeat during the reigns of Jehoahaz (2

Kgs 23:30b-34), Jehoiakim (2 Kgs 23:35-24:7), and Jehoiachin (2 Kgs 24:8-17), the conquest of Jerusalem during the reign of Zedekiah is less paramount. Moreover, the inclusion of Gedaliah's governorship in Jerusalem in the aftermath of the 587 BCE deportation makes its devastation less acute. In contrast, the concluding depiction in the book of Jeremiah does not recount the events during the reigns of Jehoahaz, Jehoiakim, and Jehoiachin which contributed to Judah's downfall, but concentrates exclusively on the reign of Zedekiah. This focus on the events of Zedekiah's reign is concentrated further by the absence of the account of Gedaliah's governorship following Zedekiah's deportation. As a result, the final chapter of Jeremiah presents Judah's fall in 587 BCE as a rapid, decisive collapse with no indication that the nation retained any political autonomy. This is further underscored through an emphasis in the Jeremianic version of the story on the deaths of the Judean kings and their progeny. Whereas 2 Kgs 25:7 and 25:30 state that Zedekiah and Jehoiachin were imprisoned in Babylon, Jer 52:11 and 52:34 include the notices that for both kings, their imprisonment lasted "until the day of his death." Furthermore, Jer 52:10 contains the additional assertion that the king of Babylon "also slew all the princes of Judah at Riblah." Before discussing the possible ideological reasons for the differences between these two portrayals of Judah's downfall, it is necessary to turn to the issue of literary dependence between the two compositions.

The Direction of Influence between 2 Kings and Jeremiah

The inclusion of nearly identical accounts of the final years of Judah in 2 Kgs 24:18-25:30 and Jer 52:1-34 raises questions about the historical precedence of the material. Strong verbal and thematic similarities between 2 Kings and Jeremiah, both in the closing chapters and throughout the books as a whole, provide a palpable

indication of literary influence, common editorial shaping, or some other form of direct literary relationship between the works. In fact, Talmudic tradition accounts for the high degree of similarity between the two works by attributing authorship of both books to the prophet Jeremiah.³ Among modern scholars, the theory of common Jeremianic authorship is less popular.⁴ Also among the current minority are those who attribute the similarities between 2 Kings and Jeremiah to a common source⁵ or to the influence of Jeremiah upon 2 Kings.⁶ Instead, more organic forms of influence between the books are envisioned, including Deuteronomistic redaction of both books⁷ and reciprocal dependence between the two corpuses.⁸

³ Baba Bathra 15a

⁴ Critical scholars who have propounded this view of shared authorship between Kings and Jeremiah include Graf, *Geschichtlichen Bücher*, 110-11; John William Colenso, *The Pentateuch and Book of Joshua Critically Examined*, VII (London: Longman, Green, Longman, Roberts & Green, 1879), 205. A more recent proposal along these same lines is put forward by William J. Doorly, who supposes that Jeremiah was a member of the Deuteronomistic school, *Obsession with Justice: The Story of the Deuteronomists* (New York: Paulist Press, 1994), 30.

⁵ For proposals of a common source shared by the authors of Kings and Jeremiah, see Mowinckel, *Zur Komposition des Buches Jeremia*, 29; Gunther Wanke, *Untersuchungen zur sogenannten Baruchsschrift*, BZAW 122 (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1971), 115.

⁶ With regard to the passage under consideration, Martin Noth argued that 2 Kgs 25 was extracted from Jer 52, *The Deuteronomistic History*, JSOTSup 15 (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1981), 74; 138, n. 71. A. Graeme Auld argues for more extensive and absolute influence from Jeremiah to 2 Kings. This is necessitated in part by the late date he assigns to the book of Kings, *Kings Without Privilege*, 169-70. Compare scholars who propose the opposite view, that the author of Kings lacked access to traditions concerning the prophet Jeremiah: Mowinckel, *Zur Komposition des Buches Jeremia*, 30; Charles Cutler Torrey, "The Background of Jeremiah 1-10," *JBL* 56 (1937): 193-216 (199, n. 4); Yehezkel Kaufmann, *The Religion of Israel from the Beginnings to the Babylonian Exile*, trans. Moshe Greenberg (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1960), 157-66.

⁷ Ernest Nicholson, *Preaching to the Exiles* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1970); Ronald E. Clements, *Prophecy and Tradition* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1975), 47-49; Winfried Thiel, *Die deuteronomistische Redaktion von Jeremia 26-45* (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1981); J. Philip Hyatt, "Jeremiah and Deuteronomy" and "The Deuteronomic Edition of Jeremiah," in *A Prophet to the Nations: Essays in Jeremiah Studies*, ed. Leo G. Perdue and Brian W. Kovacs (Winona Lake, Indiana: Eisenbrauns, 1984), 113-27; 247-67; Norbert Lohfink, "Gab es eine deuteronomistische Bewegung?" in *Jeremiah und die 'deuteronomistische Bewegung'*, ed. Walter Groß, (Weinheim: BELTZ Athenäum, 1995), 313-82 (359-60).

⁸ Henri Cazelles, "Jeremiah and Deuteronomy," in *A Prophet to the Nations: Essays in Jeremiah Studies*, ed. Leo G. Perdue and Brian W. Kovacs (Winona Lake, Indiana: Eisenbrauns, 1984), 89-112; William McKane, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on Jeremiah*, vols. 1 and 2, ICC (Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1986/1996); Christopher R. Seitz, *Theology in Conflict: Reactions to the Exile in the Book of Jeremiah*, BZAW 176 (Berlin, New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1989); Baruch Halpern, "Why Manasseh is Blamed for the Babylonian Exile: The Evolution of a Biblical Tradition," *VT* 48 (1998): 473-513; Carolyn J. Sharp, *Prophecy and Ideology in Jeremiah: Struggles for Authority in Deutero-Jeremianic Prose*, OTS (London; New York: T & T Clark, 2003); and Mark Leuchter, *The Polemics of Exile in Jeremiah 26-45* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 177-87.

With regard to the account of the fall of Judah in 2 Kgs 24:18-25:30 and Jer 52, there are strong indications of mutual influence between the two blocks of material. The influence of the book of Kings on the narrative is seen in the high degree of integration of the material into the overall structure and content of 2 Kings. This includes the introductory report at the beginning of the reign of Zedekiah in 2 Kgs 24:18-20//Jer 52:1-3 which follows the typical Deuteronomistic format by noting Zedekiah's age upon becoming king, the length of his reign, the name of the queen mother, and an evaluative assessment. Structural and linguistic similarities between the description of Zedekiah's reign in 2 Kgs 24:18-20 and the reigns of Jehoahaz (2 Kgs 23:30b-34), Jehoiakim (2 Kgs 23:35-24:7), and Jehoiachin (2 Kgs 24:8-17) further demonstrate that the material was primarily shaped for its inclusion in the book of Kings. Further support for this view is found in Jeremiah where indications exist that chapter 52 was secondarily attached as a conclusion to the work. First, in the MT version of the material, there is a discernible discontinuity in tone and content between chapters 1-45, the ensuing Oracles Against the Nations in Jer 46-51, and the account of the fall of Judah in Jer 52, suggesting that chapters 46ff were added as appendices to an already completed composition.⁹ In addition, the comment which concludes MT Jer 51:64: "Thus far are the words of Jeremiah," implies that the subsequent material in chapter 52 is a postscript and/or of different authorship.¹⁰

At the same time, scholars recognize a certain amount of influence from Jeremiah to 2 Kings in the account of the fall of Judah.¹¹ This is particularly evident

⁹ The fact that the Oracles Against the Nations appear in different locations in the MT (Jer 46-51) and Greek versions (after Jer 25:13) further corroborates the possibility that this material was secondarily relocated to the end of the book of Jeremiah in the MT edition. See Chapter 1, page 24.

¹⁰ T. R. Hobbs, "Some Remarks on the Composition and Structure of the Book of Jeremiah," in *A Prophet to the Nations: Essays in Jeremiah Studies*, ed. Leo G. Perdue and Brian W. Kovacs (Winona Lake, Indiana: Eisenbrauns, 1984), 175-91 (189).

¹¹ See John Gray, *I & II Kings*, 2nd ed., OTL (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1970), 770; Noth, *Deuteronomistic History*, 74; 138, n. 71; Seitz, *Theology in Conflict*, 199.

in the depiction of Gedaliah's governorship in 2 Kgs 25:22-26 which is not included in the final chapter of Jeremiah but is preserved in an expanded version in Jer 40:5-41:3. The degree of literary similarity between the two passages indicates direct literary borrowing and the nature of the correspondences suggests that 2 Kings is an abridged version of Jer 40:5-41:3.¹² The omission of this account of Gedaliah's governorship from the final chapter of Jeremiah may be due, in part, to the fact that the material was already present in Jer 40:5-41:3. An additional instance of literary correspondence between the final chapter of Kings and the book of Jeremiah is seen in the description of the siege on Jerusalem in 2 Kgs 25:1-12 which is a possible expansion of the similar account in Jer 39:1-10.¹³ The degree of literary integration that Jer 39:1-10 evinces to the surrounding context of Jer 37-43 suggests literary precedence, while the verbal overlap between Jer 39:1-10 and 2 Kgs 25:1-12 indicates literary dependence.¹⁴ It seems, therefore, that Jeremiah traditions shaped the composition and redaction of 2 Kgs 24:18-25:30, which was then transferred to the book of Jeremiah as a suitable conclusion.

¹² It is generally assumed that the Jeremiah version of Gedaliah's governorship in Jer 40:5-41:3 is better informed of the details of the events and therefore must emanate from those actually involved. Furthermore, the account in 2 Kgs 25:22-26 is a smoother and simpler depiction of events and therefore is thought to have been summarized from the Jeremiah version. See the discussions by Klaus Baltzer, "Das Ende des Staates Juda und die Messias-Frage," in *Studien zur Theologie der alttestamentlichen Überlieferungen*, ed. Rolf Rendtorff and Klaus Koch (Neukirchen: Neukirchener Verlag, 1961), 37; Erich Zenger, "Die Deuteronomistische Interpretation der Rehabilitierung Jojachins," *BZ* 12 (1968): 17; Gray, *I & II Kings*, 770; Dietrich, *Prophetie und Geschichte*, 140; Karl-Friedrich Pohlmann, "Erwägungen zum Schlußkapitel des deuteronomistischen Geschichtswerkes. Oder: Warum wird der Prophet Jeremia in 2. Kön. 22-25 nicht erwähnt?," in *Textgemäß. Aufsätze und Beiträge zur Hermeneutik des Alten Testaments. Festschrift Ernst Würthwein*, ed. Antonius H. J. Gunneweg and Otto Kaiser (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1979), 95; Noth, *Deuteronomistic History*, 74; Ernst Würthwein, *Die Bücher der Könige: 1 Kön 17-2 Kön 25*, ATD 11/2 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1984), 479.

¹³ Noth, *Deuteronomistic History*, 74, 137, n. 69; Seitz, *Theology in Conflict*, 263-69. Compare scholars who claim that 2 Kgs 25:1-12 influenced Jer 39:1-10: Karl-Friedrich Pohlmann, *Studien zum Jeremiabuch: Ein Beitrag zur Frage nach der Entstehung des Jeremiabuches*, FRLANT 118 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1978), 97; John Bright, *Jeremiah*, AB 21 (Garden City, New York: Doubleday, 1965), 240-46.

¹⁴ With the exception of Jer 39:1-2, the tone and details of 39:3-10 fit with the surrounding "Scribal Chronicle" or "Baruch narrative" in chapters 37-43. For a thorough defence of this position, see Seitz, *Theology in Conflict*, 263-73.

Whether or not this reconstruction of the literary influence between the final chapters of 2 Kings and Jeremiah is precise, the repetition of the account of the fall of Judah as a conclusion to both books reveals a deliberate attempt at some stage in their development to associate the perspectives of the two works. Mark Leuchter argues that the replication of the closing chapter of both books “points to these later editors’ understanding that the two works must be viewed in tandem, with one offering insight into the other.”¹⁵ Similarly, Ronald Clements suggests that this repeated account provides a hinge between the Former and Latter Prophets, on analogy with the function of the Hezekiah narrative in Isaiah 36-39.¹⁶ Just as the Hezekiah narrative signals a transition from the “former things” to the “latter things” in Isaiah, the closing chapter of 2 Kings, particularly the account of Jehoiachin’s release in 2 Kgs 25:27-30, indicates that “one era had come to an end, but a new era had come into existence.”¹⁷ Clements concludes, therefore, that “the story of Jehoiachin’s rehabilitation in Babylon prepares the reader of the Latter Prophets to understand how the divine promise to Israel’s royal dynasty remained relevant to the new world of exile.”¹⁸

This conception of the compositional and redactional relationship between 2 Kings and Jeremiah sheds light on the non-mention of Jeremiah in the DtrH which has received a fair amount of scholarly comment.¹⁹ The observable influence of Jeremiah

¹⁵ Leuchter, *Polemics of Exile*, 179. He goes so far as to assert that “The Chronicler appeared to view Jeremiah and the DH as some sort of a united corpus.” Ibid., 188; see also 272, n. 10; Geoffrey Parke-Taylor, *The Formation of the Book of Jeremiah: Doublets and Recurring Phrases*, SBLMS 51 (Atlanta: SBL, 2000), 107.

¹⁶ Ronald E. Clements, “A Royal Privilege: Dining in the Presence of the Great King (2 Kings 25.27-30),” in *Reflection and Refraction: Studies in Biblical Historiography in Honour of A. Graeme Auld*, ed. Robert Rezetko, Timothy H. Lim, and W. Brian Aucker, VTSup 113 (Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2006), 49-66 (65-66).

¹⁷ Ibid., 66.

¹⁸ Ibid., 65.

¹⁹ Sigurd Granild, “Jeremia und Deuteronomium,” *StTh* 16 (1962): 135-54; Frank Crüsemann, “Kritik an Amos im deuteronomistischen Geschichtswerk Erwägung zu Könige 14,27,” in *Probleme biblischer Theologie: Gerhard von Rad zum 70 Geburtstag*, ed. Hans Walter Wolff (München: Kaiser, 1971), 57-

material on the composition of Kings, combined with the prominence of Jeremiah in other ancient accounts of Judah's final years (2 Chr 35-36; 1 Esd 1; Sir 49:6-7; 2 Macc 2:1-8; *Ant* Book X) makes the Deuteronomist's failure to mention him as a significant figure particularly striking. Several scholars conjecture that Jeremiah's absence from the DtrH reveals a measure of antagonism towards the prophet and his message.²⁰ On the other hand, the compositional and redactional inter-dependence between the two works may make mention of Jeremiah in the book of Kings superfluous. At the very least, at the level of redactional affiliation and canonical compilation, the repetition of material in 2 Kgs 25 and Jer 52 denotes the editors'

63; Pohlmann, *Studien zum Jeremiabuch*; idem, "Erwägungen zum Schlußkapitel"; Klaus Koch, "Das Profetenschweigen des deuteronomistischen Geschichtswerks," in *Die Botschaft und die Boten: Festschrift für Hans Walter Wolff zum 70. Geburtstag*, ed. Jörg Jeremias and Lothar Perlitt (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1981), 115-28; Noth, *Deuteronomistic History*, 138, n. 71; Christopher Begg, "A Bible Mystery: The Absence of Jeremiah in the Deuteronomistic History," *IBS* 7 (1985): 139-64; idem, "The Non-mention of Ezekiel in Dtr, Jeremiah and Chronicles," in *Ezekiel and His Book*, ed. Johan Lust, BETL 74 (Leuven: University Press/Peeters, 1986), 340-43; idem, "The Non-mention of Amos, Hosea and Micah in the Deuteronomistic History," *BN* 32 (1986): 41-53; Christof Hardmeier, "Die Propheten Micha und Jesaja im Spiegel von Jeremia XXVI und Regum XVIII-XX," in *Congress Volume Leuven 1989*, ed. John Adney Emerton, VTSup 43 (Leiden: Brill, 1991), 172-89; Marius Terblanche, "No Need for a Prophet Like Jeremiah: The Absence of the Prophet Jeremiah in Kings," in *Past, Present, Future: The Deuteronomistic History and the Prophets*, ed. Johannes C. de Moor and Harry F. van Rooy (Leiden; Boston; Köln: Brill, 2000), 306-14.

²⁰ Martin Noth suggests that because of his announcements of doom, Jeremiah was not mentioned in the royal annals which functioned as the Deuteronomist's source, *Deuteronomistic History*, 86, 141, n. 10; Sigurd Granild suspects that Jeremiah's criticism of the law-book and Temple was the source of the animosity between him and the Deuteronomists, "Jeremia und Deuteronomium," 135-54; Marius Terblanche suggests that Jeremiah is absent from the DtrH because of his failure to uphold a message of obedience to the law, "No Need for a Prophet," 312-14; Klaus Koch maintains that Jeremiah did not correspond to the Deuteronomist's image of a true prophet because his message did not centre around repentance as a means of averting God's judgment, "Profetenschweigen," 115-28; Christopher Begg suggests that Jeremiah's intercessory activity goes against the grain of the Deuteronomistic emphasis on God's irrevocable judgment, "Bible Mystery," 139-64 (155-59); Henri Cazellas suggests that Jeremiah promotes Zedekiah as the legitimate heir to the royal line following the exile, which contrasts with the Deuteronomists' partiality for Jehoiachin, "587 ou 586?," in *The Word of the Lord Shall Go Forth: Essays in Honor of David Noel Freedman*, ed. Carol L. Meyers and M. O'Connor (Philadelphia: Eisenbrauns, 1983), 427-35 (430); and according to Robert Carroll, Jeremiah's absence in the DtrH reflects Deuteronomistic perceptions of his failure as a prophet, "Synchronic Deconstructions of Jeremiah: Diachrony to the Rescue?," in *Synchronic or Diachronic? A Debate on Method in Old Testament Exegesis*, ed. Johannes C. de Moor, OTS 34 (Leiden: Brill, 1995), 39-51 (42). Some scholars aver that Jeremiah's "pro-Babylonian" policy prompted the Deuteronomists to exclude him from their history, including Joseph Klausner, "Why is Jeremiah not Mentioned in the Book of Kings?" in *Mordecai M. Kaplan Jubilee Volume*, ed. Moshe Davis (New York: Jewish Theological Seminary of America, 1953), 189-203; Christof Hardmeier, "Propheten Micha und Jesaja," 188-89; Peter Höffken, "Recension of J. Jeremiah and L. Perlitt, eds., *Die Botschaft und die Boten*," *BO* 41 (1984): 146-52. In contrast, Karl-Friedrich Pohlmann attributes the non-mention of Jeremiah to his positive stance towards Judeans left in the land as opposed to the Deuteronomists' preferential view towards those who were taken into exile in Babylon, *Studien zum Jeremiabuch*; Christopher R. Seitz, "The Crisis of Interpretation Over the Meaning and Purpose of the Exile," *VT* 35, no. 1 (1985): 78-97.

understanding that the two works shed light on one another; Jeremiah functions as the unnamed prophetic accompaniment to the events portrayed in Kings.²¹ Furthermore, the canonical shaping of the material within the MT which resulted in the two books being juxtaposed within the single category of the Prophets further confirms this supposition of an intended correspondence between Kings and Jeremiah as the material was transmitted over time.²²

This proposition of a canonical association between 2 Kings and Jeremiah provides the foundation for the ensuing investigating of the account of the fall of Judah in 2 Kgs 25 and Jer 52. While the contextualization of the account of Jerusalem's destruction in 2 Kings functions to persuade the audience to submit to the conditions of exile as God's just judgment, Jeremiah uses the narrative to look beyond exile to a future restoration which is portrayed as a political and spiritual utopia. Turning first to a consideration of 2 Kings, it will be observed how the theme of submission is emphasized in the final chapters of the book.

The Portrayal of Judah's Exile in the Book of Kings

The account of Judah's fall is portrayed in 2 Kgs 23:30b-25:30 as a gradual collapse, increasing in intensity over the course of five administrations. The first king, Jehoahaz, concluded his reign in captivity under Pharaoh Neco of Egypt (2 Kgs 23:31-35) and the remaining Judean kings experienced a steady decline of political power. During Jehoiakim's reign, Judah was besieged by Chaldeans, Syrians, Moabites and Ammonites (2 Kgs 23:36-24:7). Under the next king, Jehoiachin, in the year 597 BCE, Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon besieged Jerusalem and deposed the

²¹ Childs, *Introduction*, 347.

²² Iain Provan, "The Messiah in the Books of Kings," in *The Lord's Anointed: Interpretation of Old Testament Messianic Texts*, ed. Philip E. Satterthwaite, Richard S. Hess, and Gordon J. Wenham (Carlisle and Grand Rapids: Paternoster Press and Baker Books), 67-85 (83).

royal family, took all but the poorest people of the land into captivity, and confiscated all the treasures of the palace and temple (2 Kgs 24:8-16). The fourth king, Zedekiah, governed the remaining Judean community until 587 BCE when Nebuchadnezzar again besieged Jerusalem and took the king and the rest of the people who were left in the city into captivity along with the remaining ornaments in the temple, after which he burned the entire city (2 Kgs 24:17-25:21). Finally, Gedaliah oversaw the few rural Judeans who were left until internal conflict resulted in his assassination which provoked a collective flight to Egypt by the remaining inhabitants (2 Kgs 25:22-26).

This account of Judah's downfall appears to have been shaped *post factum* to present the exile as the fulfilment of prophetic warnings. Explicit statements to that effect are inserted into the narrative (2 Kgs 24:2 and 13) and the account of the fall is literarily coordinated with the prophetic warnings in 2 Kgs 20:16-18; 21:10-15; 22:16-18; and 23:26-27. The fact that this prophecy-fulfilment structure is applied to events which preceded the final collapse of the nation, namely the penultimate deportation under Jehoiakim in 597 BCE, suggests that the complex of narratives was composed in stages as events unfolded.²³ The presence of a suitable concluding statement in 2 Kgs 24:20a, "For because of the anger of the LORD it came to the point in Jerusalem and Judah that he cast them out from his presence," indicates that at one time the devastating events of 597 BCE during the reign of Jehoiachin were believed to have been the fulfilment of the prophetically-ordained judgment on the nation. The emphasis in 2 Kgs 24:12-14 on the deportation of "all" the inhabitants and treasures from Jerusalem, and the summary list of deportees in 2 Kgs 24:15-16 further confirms this notion. However, the subsequent devastation to Jerusalem in 587 BCE

²³ The gradual composition of 2 Kgs 24-25 is described in more detail by Gray, *I & II Kings*, 773; Dietrich, *Prophetie und Geschichte*, 141-42; Würthwein, *Bücher der Könige*, 481-84; Peter Ackroyd, "Historians and Prophets," in *Studies in the Religious Tradition*, 121-51 (140-41); Seitz, *Theology in Conflict*, 167-200; Terblanche, "No Need for a Prophet," 311; Clements, "Royal Privilege," 51-52.

necessitated supplemental redaction, resulting in the addition of 2 Kgs 24:20b-25:21, which depicts the ruinous events of Zedekiah's reign. Once again, a summary statement in 2 Kgs 25:21 marks the end of the addition: "So Judah was taken into exile out of its land." This redactional activity was repeated again in the supplementary account of Gedaliah's governorship in 2 Kgs 25:22-26. Each successive blow to Judah's political well-being necessitated further redactional activity as a means of coming to terms with the events of history and prior theological convictions about God's protective intentions towards his chosen people.

An observable shift in tone and content marks the final addendum to the book which is the notice in 2 Kgs 25:27-30 that Jehoiachin is freed from prison and becomes the recipient of the Babylonian king's benefaction for the rest of his life. This announcement contrasts sharply with the prolonged account of Judah's increasing demise which precedes it. As Oded Lipschits observes, "The destruction (which should have been the author's goal and which was supposed to be the climax of the description – its finale) is buried in the account and becomes merely another milestone."²⁴ The climax of the book is found instead in Jehoiachin's release. It is this enticingly ambiguous concluding notice which has provoked so much discussion about the extent to which a future beyond exile is anticipated in the final form of the book of 2 Kings. Is this statement, in keeping with the preceding portrayal, an incisive indication that the Davidic monarchy, once so great, has been humbled to the point of dependence on a foreign king? Or is there in this remark a hint of hope that the dynasty is not completely destroyed but has a remaining heir whose well-being is ensured through the exile, implying that a restoration of the monarchy is still possible?

²⁴ Lipschits, *Fall and Rise*, 295.

The nature of restoration hope adumbrated in the final form of 2 Kings lies at the heart of the distinct function of the account of the fall of Jerusalem in 2 Kgs 24-25.

Hope for Restoration in the Book of Kings

The dividing lines in this discussion are typically associated with Martin Noth, who sees no hope for Judah's future restoration envisioned in the conclusion to the book of Kings,²⁵ and Gerhard von Rad, who finds in Jehoiachin's release a subtle, yet theologically significant foreshadowing of the resuscitation of the Davidic dynasty and the return to Jerusalem.²⁶ Most scholars are unwilling to adopt either extreme view, preferring instead to see the notice as an indication that God is still acting on

²⁵ According to Martin Noth, the primary theological principle of the DtrH is God's just retribution upon Israel. By placing the Deuteronomic law at the beginning of the history and repeatedly alluding back to it throughout the work, the author presented Israel's history as one of apostasy and deviation from the covenant standard. In accordance with the destruction envisaged by the Deuteronomic law, exile marks the "final end" of Judah with no hope of future restoration; the notice of Jehoiachin's release does not, in Noth's opinion, indicate the reversal of the fortunes of king or nation. He states, "Clearly [the Deuteronomist] saw the divine judgment which was acted out in his account of the external collapse of Israel as a nation as something final and definitive and he expressed no hope for the future, not even in the very modest and simple form of an expectation that the deported and dispersed people would be gathered together," *Deuteronomistic History*, 97-98. Others who argue for a similar interpretation of 2 Kgs 25:27-30 and its relationship to the DtrH include: Cross, *Canaanite Myth*, 277; Richard Elliott Friedman, *The Exile and Biblical Narrative: The Formation of the Deuteronomistic and Priestly Works*, HSM 22 (Chico, CA: Scholars Press, 1981), 33; Nelson, *Double Redaction*; idem, *First and Second Kings*, 268.

²⁶ Diverging from Martin Noth, who emphasizes the unified theological perspective which characterizes the DtrH, Gerhard von Rad highlights what he perceives to be a tension within the material between God's judgment and his salvation, embodied in his "sure mercies of David" (2 Sam 7:13-16; 1 Kgs 2:4; 9:5; 11:13, 32, 36; 15:4; 2 Kgs 8:19). Without minimizing the severity of God's punishment, the Deuteronomist leaves open the possibility of a future restoration by concluding the book with the notice of Jehoiachin's pardon. Regarding 2 Kgs 25:27-30, von Rad states, "Obviously nothing is said here in strict theological terms, but a carefully measured indication is given: an occurrence is referred to which has immense significance for the deuteronomist, since it provides a basis upon which Yahweh could build further if he so willed. At all events the reader must understand this passage to be an indication of the fact that the line of David has not come to an irrevocable end," "The Deuteronomic Theology of History in 1 and 2 Kings," in *The Problem of the Hexateuch*, 205-21 (220). See also idem, *Old Testament Theology, Volume 1: The Theology of Israel's Historical Traditions*, trans. D. M. G. Stalker (Edinburgh and London: Oliver and Boyd, 1962), 343. Similar positive implications with regard to the continuation of the Davidic dynasty are observed by Ludwig Köhler, *Old Testament Theology*, trans. A. S. Todd (London: 1957), 93; Ackroyd, *Exile and Restoration*, 79-81; Erich Zenger, "Deuteronomistische Interpretation"; Nicholson, *Preaching to the Exiles*, 75; Childs, *Introduction to the Old Testament*, 281-301; Joachim Becker, *Messianic Expectation in the Old Testament*, trans. David E. Green (Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1980), 56-57; Provan, "Messiah in the Books of Kings"; idem, *1 & 2 Kings*, 89-93; Diane M. Sharon, *Patterns of Destiny: Narrative Structures of Foundation and Doom in the Hebrew Bible* (Winona Lake, Indiana: Eisenbrauns, 2002), 195-99; Nathan MacDonald, *Not Bread Alone: The Uses of Food in the Old Testament* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008), 174-77.

behalf of his people by providing for them the possibility of a tolerable existence in exile.²⁷ Central to the debate on the interpretation of 2 Kgs 25:27-30 has been the methodological assumption that the structure, themes, and perspectives of the wider DtrH provide a key to interpreting the significance of the cryptic conclusion to the work.²⁸ However, because the Deut-Kgs complex as a whole does not present a univocal perspective on Israel's future after exile, this approach generally requires the isolation of redactional layers within the DtrH in a way that corresponds to a certain perception of the meaning of the material.

The passages relevant to the discussion of the nature of restoration hope expressed in the DtrH are, in addition to the account of Jehoiachin's release in 2 Kgs 25:27-30, three speech passages which specifically address the circumstances of exile and return: the speeches of Moses in Deut 4:25-31 and Deut 30:1-10 and the prayer of Solomon in 1 Kgs 8:46-51.²⁹ The hope for restoration within these speeches is most clearly articulated in the following sections:

²⁷ Hans Walter Wolff, "The Kerygma of the Deuteronomistic Historical Work," in *The Vitality of the Old Testament Traditions*, ed. Walter Brueggemann and Hans Walter Wolff (Atlanta: John Knox Press, 1975), 83-100; Christopher Begg, "The Significance of Jehoiachin's Release: A New Proposal," *JSOT* 36 (1986): 49-56; Mordechai Cogan and Hayim Tadmor, *II Kings: A New Translation*, AB (Garden City, New York: Doubleday, 1988), 330; Bob Becking, "Jehoiachin's Amnesty, Salvation for Israel?," in *Pentateuchal and Deuteronomistic Studies: Papers Read at the XIIIth IOSOT Congress Leuven 1989*, ed. Christianus Brekelmans and Johan Lust, BETL 94 (Leuven: Leuven University Press & Peeters, 1990), 283-93; Long, *2 Kings*, 289; Jan Jaynes Granoski, "Jehoiachin at the King's Table: A Reading of the Ending of the Second Book of Kings," in *Reading Between Texts: Intertextuality and the Hebrew Bible*, ed. Danna Nolan Fewell (Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 1992), 173-90; Gordon McConville, "1 Kings VIII 46-53 and the Deuteronomic Hope," *VT* 42, no. 1 (1992): 67-79; Yair Hoffmann, "The Deuteronomist and the Exile," in *Pomegranates and Golden Bells: Studies in Honor of Jacob Milgrom*, ed. David P. Wright, David Noel Freedman, and Avi Hurvitz (Winona Lake, Indiana: Eisenbrauns, 1995), 659-75; Meik Gerhards, "Die Behnädigung Jojachins -- Überlegungen zu 2 Kön 25,27-30 (mit einem Anhang zu den Nennungen Jojachins auf Zuteilungslisten aus Babylon)," *BN* 94 (1998): 52-67; Donald Murray, "Of All the Years the Hopes: Or Fears? Jehoiachin in Babylon (2 Kings 25:27-30)," *JBL* 120, no. 2 (2001): 264-65; Clements, "Royal Privilege"; David Janzen, "An Ambiguous Ending: Dynastic Punishment in Kings and the Fate of the Davidides in 2 Kings 25.27-30," *JSOT* 33 (2008): 39-58.

²⁸ Interpretation of Kings within the context of the wider DtrH is largely attributable to the influence of Martin Noth, *Überlieferungsgeschichtliche Studien: Die sammelnden und bearbeitenden Geschichtswerke im Alten Testament* (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer, 1943).

²⁹ These speeches have been examined as a window into the Deuteronomistic theology of Israel's restoration by Wolff, "Kerygma," 92-7; Jon Levenson, "From Temple to Synagogue: 1 Kings 8," in *Traditions in Transformation: Turning Points in Biblical Faith*, ed. Baruch Halpern and Jon Levenson

When you are in tribulation, and all these things come upon you in the latter days, you will return to the LORD your God and obey his voice. For the LORD your God is a merciful God. He will not leave you or destroy you or forget the covenant with your fathers that he swore to them. (Deut 4:30-31)

And when all these things come upon you, the blessing and the curse, which I have set before you, and you call them to mind among the nations where the LORD your God has driven you, and return to the LORD your God, you and your children, and obey his voice in all that I command you today, with all your heart and with all your soul, then the LORD your God will restore your fortunes and have compassion on you, and he will gather you again from all the peoples where the LORD your God has scattered you. (Deut 30:1-3)

If they repent with all their mind and with all their heart in the land of their enemies, who carried them captive, and pray to you toward their land, which you gave to their fathers, the city that you have chosen, and the house that I have built for your name, then hear in heaven your dwelling place their prayer and their plea, and maintain their cause and forgive your people who have sinned against you, and all their transgressions that they have committed against you, and grant them compassion in the sight of those who carried them captive, that they may have compassion on them. (1 Kgs 8:48-50)

The clear literary similarities between the speeches have contributed to the assumption of a shared redactional hand or literary dependence.³⁰ Yet linguistic similarities within the speeches threaten to obscure the fact that distinctive perspectives are presented regarding Israel's hope beyond exile. Deut 4:31 and Deut

(Winona Lake, Indiana: Eisenbrauns, 1981), 143-66; idem, "The Last Four Verses in Kings," *JBL* 103 (1984), 353-61; Begg, "Significance of Jehoiachin's Release"; McConville, "1 Kings VIII 46-53"; Marc Zvi Brettler, "Predestination in Deuteronomy 30:1-10," in *Those Elusive Deuteronomists: The Phenomenon of Pan-Deuteronomism*, ed. Steven L. McKenzie and Linda S. Schearing, JSOTSup 268 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1999), 171-88.

³⁰ This is especially argued by Wolff, "Kerygma." Literary parallels include "when all these things come upon you," *וּמִצָּאוֹךָ כָּל הַדְּבָרִים הָאֵלֶּה* (Deut 4:30); *יָבֹאוּ עָלֶיךָ כָּל־הַדְּבָרִים הָאֵלֶּה* (Deut 30:1); "whenever we call upon him," *בְּכָל־קִרְאָנוּ אֵלָיו* (Deut 4:7); *בְּכָל קִרְאָם אֵלָיו* (1 Kgs 8:52); "return to the LORD your God and obey his voice," *וְשִׁבְתָּ עַד־יְהוָה אֱלֹהֶיךָ וְשָׁמַעְתָּ בְּקוֹלוֹ* (Deut 4:30; 30:2); "with all your heart and with all your soul," *בְּכָל־לִבְבְּךָ וּבְכָל־נַפְשְׁךָ* (Deut 4:29; 30:2, 6, 10; 1 Kgs 8:48); "lay it on your heart," *וְהִשְׁבֵּת אֶל־לִבְבְּךָ* (Deut 4:39; 30:1); *וְהָשִׁיבוּ אֶל־לִבָּם* (1 Kgs 8:47); exile as "captivity," *שְׁבָה* (Deut 30:3; 1 Kgs 8:46-48, 50) and an "iron furnace," *בּוֹר הַבְּרִזָּל* (Deut 4:20; 1 Kgs 8:51); Israel as "a people of his own inheritance," *לֹא לְעַם נַחֲלָה* (Deut 4:20); *וְנִחַלְתָּ* (1 Kgs 8:51); and the receiving of "compassion," *רַחֵם* (Deut 4:31; 30:3; 1 Kgs 8:50).

30:3 promise return to the land for the people in exile,³¹ while 1 Kgs 8:48 implies that the repentant exiles will receive consolation in the land of their captivity, but not necessarily return.³² Additionally, in Deut 4:29-31 and Deut 30:5, God is presented as taking the initiative in restoring Israel to himself based on the covenant with the fathers,³³ while in 1 Kgs 8, relief for the exiles is conditioned on their repentance and God is free to grant or refuse their request.

Assigning the speeches to distinct editorial layers of the DtrH has done little to ease the difference of opinion regarding the hope for restoration expressed in the final form of the DtrH and the corresponding interpretation of Jehoiachin's release in 2 Kgs 25:27-30. For example, Frank Moore Cross proposes that the first edition of the DtrH (Dtr1) was optimistic about the future of Judah and the Davidic monarchy, culminating in the positive assessment of Josiah (2 Kgs 23:25). To this edition belonged the confident speeches in Deuteronomy promising unconditional entitlement to the land based on God's covenant. But when Judah was captured and the Jerusalem

³¹ In Deut 30:3 this promise is explicit, while Deut 4:31 is more oblique, promising that "God will not leave you or destroy you or forget the covenant with your fathers that he swore to them." The reference to God's covenant with the fathers suggests repossession of the promised land and it is therefore possible to synchronize the hope expressed in the two Deuteronomic speeches. See the discussions by Samuel Rolles Driver, *Deuteronomy*, ICC (Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1895), 328; Robert Polzin, *Moses and the Deuteronomist: A Literary Study of the Deuteronomistic History. Part I, Deuteronomy, Joshua, Judges* (New York: Seabury, 1980), 70.

³² Gordon McConville highlights this point in his observation that in Deut 30 a play on the word שׁוּב captures not only the idea of Israel's repentance (Deut 30:1-2), but also of a reversal of her captivity and of restoration to the land (Deut 30:3). In 1 Kgs 8:48, these latter two concepts are conspicuously absent, leaving only the notion of Israel's repentance. Furthermore, the רַחֵם which Israel receives in Deut 4:31 and Deut 30:3 is from the LORD, whereas in 1 Kings 8:50 the agent of compassion is Israel's captor, implying that Israel will remain in exile, "1 Kings VIII 46-53."

³³ Though translators and interpreters frequently read שׁוּב in Deut 4:30 and Deut 30:2 as conditional ("if you return..."), the more straightforward reading of the *weqatal* is "you will return." See Marc Zvi Brettler's comparison of passages with a similar construction: כִּי followed by a *yiqtol* + *weqatal*. Brettler further points out that several late biblical and early post-biblical texts interpret Deut 4:30 and Deut 30:1-3 as a prediction of God's benevolence rather than as a precondition of restoration, including Neh 1:6-11, 4QMMT 11.13-22, 4Q504 (Words of the Luminaries), Bar 2.27-35, and Nachmanides, "Predestination in Deuteronomy 30:1-10." Gerhard von Rad identifies the asseverative nature of this material in his remark, "[Deut 30:1-10] can no longer be called an exhortation; it contains no admonitions, but with regard to Israel's future, simple affirmative propositions, that is, it is clothed altogether in the style of prophetic predictions." See also his discussion of Deut 4:25 which he calls a "prophecy," *Deuteronomy: A Commentary*, trans. Dorothea Barton, OTL (London: SCM Press, 1966), 50, 183.

temple destroyed only a few generations after Josiah's reign, an updating of the DtrH (Dtr2) was in order. In its final form, therefore, Josiah's reign becomes an anti-climax, bracketed between the prophecy of Judah's eventual downfall resulting from the sins of Manasseh (2 Kgs 21:10-15) and the reiteration of that prophecy in spite of Josiah's obedience (2 Kgs 23:26-7). The subsequent redaction, which includes the more sober speech in 1 Kgs 8 and the notice of Jehoiachin's release in 2 Kgs 25:27-30,³⁴ tones down, without completely omitting, themes of hope which were prominent in the original edition.³⁵ Based on this understanding of the final redaction of the DtrH, Cross, like Noth, does not see any hope in the notice of Jehoiachin's release, contending that it is, "a thin thread upon which to hang the expectation of the fulfilment of the promises to David."³⁶

According to Rudolf Smend and those who follow him, the speeches in both Deuteronomy and 1 Kings belong to a later, exilic layer of redaction. Though the initial framework of the history (DtrG) expresses confidence in Israel's continued entitlement to the land, a subsequent expansion (DtrN) asserts that the claim to the land is contingent upon adherence to the law.³⁷ Smend's reconstruction of the redaction of the DtrH has been further developed by several scholars who posit a third intermediate layer (DtrP), which is characterized by prophetic threats of judgment which function to explain the downfall of Israel. The addition of speeches intimating restoration hopes in the subsequent nomistic redaction therefore contrasts with the

³⁴ On the redactional relationship between 1 Kgs 8:46-51 and 2 Kgs 25:27-30 specifically, and the contention that Jehoiachin's release illustrates the fulfilment of Judah receiving "compassion in the sight of those who carried them captive" (1 Kgs 8:50), compare the discussions by Wolff, "Kerygma," 99-100; Levenson, "Last Four Verses," 360-61; Begg, "Significance of Jehoiachin's Release," 51; Cogan and Tadmor, *II Kings*, 329-30; McConville, "Narrative and Meaning"; Becking, "Jehojachin's Amnesty," 292; Murray, "Of All the Years," 264; MacDonald, *Not Bread Alone*, 177.

³⁵ Cross, *Canaanite Myth*, 287-89.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 277. For others who argue that there is a muting of restoration hope in the final redaction of the DtrH, though with variations in the reconstruction of redactional layers, see Friedman, *Exile and Biblical Narrative*, 33-36; Nelson, *Double Redaction*, 94; Levenson, "Temple to Synagogue," 143-66; *idem*, "Last Four Verses," 353-61; McConville, "1 Kings VIII 46-53," 67-79.

³⁷ Smend, "Gesetz und die Völker."

prior prophetic material.³⁸ As a result, these scholars, like von Rad, see in the final form of the DtrH a glimmer of hope for Israel.

As these studies illustrate, assignment of the speech passages in Deut 4, 30, and 1 Kgs 8 to distinct literary layers runs the risk of circular argumentation. Discerning the nature of hope for restoration implied in Jehoiachin's release at the end of 2 Kings is not resolved by redactional reconstructions of the DtrH complex as a whole. Instead of turning to the wider literary context of the DtrH and to redactional reconstructions of the material as a means of discerning the nature of hope intended by the inclusion of 2 Kgs 25:27-30, attention will here be focused on the immediate context of the notice in the final chapters of 2 Kings. It will be demonstrated that the last four verses of 2 Kings have been shaped to create links to the description of Judah's downfall in 2 Kgs 24-25, thus illuminating its significance in this context and showing its relevance for hope of a future return.³⁹

Donald Murray points out several syntactical parallels in 2 Kgs 25:27-30 which integrate it into the narrative structure of chapter 25. In particular, the section depicting Jehoiachin's release is connected to the surrounding literary context through the use of dating expressions in verses 1, 8, 25, and 27.⁴⁰ In each case, a new temporal setting is introduced along with a new character - Nebuchadnezzar, Nebuzaradan, Ishmael, and Evil-merodach, respectively - whose actions decisively alter the course of Judah's history. In the first three cases, the action of the subject is expressed with

³⁸ Dietrich, *Prophetie und Geschichte*; Veijola, *Die ewige Dynastie*; Ernst Würthwein, "Die josianische Reform"; Spieckermann, *Juda unter Assur*.

³⁹ The compositional coordination of material in 2 Kgs 24-25 leads Christopher Seitz to conclude that only through the juxtaposed witness of these two chapters is the distinct purpose of 2 Kgs 25:27-30 illuminated. He states, "One can best appreciate the movement into 25:27-30 when the nuances peculiar to Chs. 24 and 25...are allowed to move to the forefront." For a more thorough discussion, see his, *Theology in Conflict*, 198-200, 215-21 (221).

⁴⁰ Murray, "Of All the Years," 248-50. Donald Murray rightly observes the necessity of interpreting Jehoiachin's release within its immediate literary context, but he limits that context to 2 Kgs 25.

the *qatal* verb בא ("he came") with hostile consequences, and is followed by *wayyiqtol* verb forms:⁴¹

וַיְהִי בַשָּׁנָה הַתְּשִׁיעִית לְמָלְכוֹ בַּחֹדֶשׁ הָעֲשָׂרִי בְּעָשׂוֹר לַחֹדֶשׁ בָּא נְבֻכַדְנֶאצַּר מֶלֶךְ-בָּבֶל

And in the ninth year of his reign, in the tenth month, on the tenth day of the month, Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon came (2 Kgs 25:1).

וּבַחֹדֶשׁ הַחֲמִישִׁי בְּשִׁבְעָה לַחֹדֶשׁ הָיָא שָׁנַת חֲשַׁע עָשָׂרָה שָׁנָה לְמָלְךְ נְבֻכַדְנֶאצַּר מֶלֶךְ-בָּבֶל
בָּא נְבוּזַרְאֲדָן

In the fifth month, on the seventh day of the month – that was the nineteenth year of King Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon – Nebuzaradan...came (2 Kgs 25:8).

וַיְהִי בַחֹדֶשׁ הַשְּׁבִיעִי בָּא יִשְׁמָעֵאל

But in the seventh month, Ishmael...came (2 Kgs 25:25).

This provides a contrast to the gracious action of Evil-merodach who נָשָׂא...אֶת-רֹאשׁ

(*qatal*), literally “lifted up the head” of Jehoiachin:⁴²

וַיְהִי בְשָׁלְשִׁים וְשִׁבְעַת שָׁנָה לְגָלוּת יְהוֹיָכִן מֶלֶךְ-יְהוּדָה בְּשָׁנִים עָשָׂר חֹדֶשׁ בְּעָשָׂרִים וְשִׁבְעָה
לַחֹדֶשׁ נָשָׂא אֲוִיל מֶרְדַּךְ מֶלֶךְ בָּבֶל בַּשָּׁנָה מָלְכוֹ אֶת-רֹאשׁ יְהוֹיָכִין מֶלֶךְ-יְהוּדָה מִבֵּית כְּלָא:

And in the thirty-seventh year of the exile of Jehoiachin king of Judah, in the twelfth month, on the twenty-seventh day of the month, Evil-merodach king of Babylon, in the year that he began to reign, graciously freed Jehoiachin king of Judah from prison (2 Kgs 25:27).

⁴¹ To the structure suggested by Murray could be added the additional occurrence of the root בוא in 2 Kgs 25:23 with “the captains and their men” as the subject. In this case, בוא appears as a *wayyiqtol* which is presumably why Murray did not include it in his structure.

⁴² Ibid.

Further integration of the notice of Jehoiachin's release into the context of 2 Kgs 24-25 is observed in the way that Jehoiachin and Gedaliah are aligned as comparable figures over and against Jehoiakim and Zedekiah in these chapters through linguistic associations.⁴³ Of the latter two kings it is said that they rebelled (וַיִּמְרְדוּ) against the king of Babylon (2 Kgs 24:1, 20), an action for which they are censured by the author. Jehoiakim's rebellion against the Babylonian king provokes an attack on Judah which, according to the narrative presentation, is commissioned by God in accordance with the warnings spoken by the prophets:

Then [Jehoiakim] turned and rebelled [וַיִּמְרְדוּ] against [the king of Babylon]. And the LORD sent against him bands of the Chaldeans and bands of the Syrians and bands of the Moabites and bands of the Ammonites, and sent them against Judah to destroy it, according to the word of the LORD that he spoke by his servants the prophets. (2 Kgs 24:1-2)

Similarly, God's appointment of Judah's destruction during the reign of Zedekiah is juxtaposed with the assertion that he rebelled against the Babylonian king:

For because of the anger of the LORD it came to the point in Jerusalem and Judah that he cast them out from his presence. And Zedekiah rebelled [וַיִּמְרְדוּ] against the king of Babylon. (2 Kgs 24:20).

This motif of rebellion being associated with an attack by a foreign king is further emphasized by the discernable effort on the part of the narrator to pattern Judah's fall in 2 Kgs 24-25 after that of Israel in 2 Kgs 17 where Hoshea's revolt, refusal to pay tribute, and coalition with Egypt are presented as provocations of the Assyrian siege (2 Kgs 17:4-5).

⁴³ Zenger, "Deuteronomistische Interpretation," 28.

Finally, not only do the accounts of Jehoiakim and Zedekiah share the circumstances of rebellion against Babylon and consignment of Judah to destruction, but the author explicitly links the two kings through the Deuteronomistic regnal introduction which, in these cases, diverges from its typical form. Evil kings are usually described as acting in accordance with all that their *fathers* had done (2 Kgs 23:27, 32; 24:9). However, Zedekiah is not likened to his father, but to Jehoiakim, who is presented as his *brother* in the 2 Kings account:⁴⁴ “[Zedekiah] did what was evil in the sight of the LORD, according to all that Jehoiakim had done” (2 Kgs 24:19).

In contrast to his father and uncle who rebelled against the king of Babylon, Jehoiachin “gave himself up, וַיִּצֵא” to the king of Babylon (2 Kgs 24:12).⁴⁵ Jehoiachin’s fate described in 2 Kgs 25:27-30 is contrasted with Jehoiakim who dies (2 Kgs 24:6) and Zedekiah who is taken prisoner to Babylon and never heard from again (2 Kgs 25:7). The mercy shown to Jehoiachin is further highlighted in the contrasting statement that the captive Zedekiah was brought to Babylon where the king “spoke to him justice, וַיִּדְבֶּר אֵתוֹ מִשְׁפָּט” (2 Kgs 25:6), while of Jehoiachin it is said that the Babylonian king “spoke to him good, וַיִּדְבֶּר אֵתוֹ טוֹבוֹת” (2 Kgs 25:28).⁴⁶ At the same time, Jehoiachin is *likened* to Gedaliah who also submitted to Babylon’s overlordship, counselling the people with the words: “Serve the king of Babylon, and it shall be well with you, וַיַּעֲבֹדוּ אֶת-מֶלֶךְ בָּבֶל וַיְהִיטֵב לָכֶם” (2 Kgs 25:24), foreshadowing

⁴⁴ 2 Kgs 24:17, cf. 2 Chr 36:10 where Zedekiah is said to be *Jehoiachin’s* brother, i.e., Jehoiakim’s son. The Chronicler’s presentation of this relationship is discussed in Chapter 5, pages 196-97.

⁴⁵ Notice also that 2 Kgs 24:14 indicates that when Jehoiachin surrendered, Nebuchadnezzar deported “all the mighty men of valour,” implying that the nation had been capable of resistance.

⁴⁶ MacDonald, *Not Bread Alone*, 177.

the assurance of טוב expressed in 2 Kgs 25:28.⁴⁷ It is implied that Jehoiachin's acceptance of the conditions of exile, which included dependence on Babylonian provision "as long as he lived," saved him from death at the hands of Nebuchadnezzar.

Though the final two chapters of 2 Kings reflect gradual augmentation of the material over time, it is clear that the complex has been schematized to drive home a particular point in its final form presentation. The association created between Jehoiakim and Zedekiah over and against Jehoiachin and Gedaliah implies a connection between rebellion and death, submission and life. The point emphasized by this schematization is that exile is God's judgment for Israel and submission is their means of salvation. Jehoiachin, who accepts the conditions of exile, is saved from death and granted a tolerable existence in Babylon. Rhetorically, Jehoiachin's submission embodies what all Israel ought to do. The exhortation of Gedaliah in 2 Kgs 25:24, which is the only reported speech in the final two chapters of 2 Kings, functions as a mandate emphasizing the necessity of humble acceptance of God's judgment of exile.

Though 2 Kings does not abolish the possibility of return to the land and restoration of the dynasty, this is not where the emphasis of the material lies. The reading of 2 Kings 25:27-30 proposed here, in which Jehoiachin functions as an illustration of Judah's proper response to exile, provides an alternative perspective to the view which sees the passage as a hopeful anticipation of the restoration of the monarchy and national independence. Instead of providing an adumbration of Israel's salvation *after* exile, Jehoiachin's release conveys that *exile is itself Israel's salvation*. Rather than utterly destroying his people, God preserves a remnant by allowing them to face captivity instead of death. While the deliverance of a remnant does imply the

⁴⁷ The association of these two verses has also been suggested by Begg, "Significance of Jehoiachin's Release," 54; Lipschits, *Fall and Rise*, 298.

possibility of a future restoration, such hope is not the primary purpose of the passage. It is the nation's present circumstances that are being addressed and the response being called for is submission to captivity as God's just judgment. The notice of Jehoiachin's release encourages the nation to embrace God's provision for them in the present, even in the suffering of estrangement from their homeland and national identity. The appeal of 2 Kings that the Judeans submit to exile also corresponds to the theology of the book of Jeremiah, as will be seen below, but by offering a clear expectation of Israel's future return to their homeland, Jeremiah alters the significance of the exile.

The Portrayal of Judah's Exile in the Book of Jeremiah

Jeremiah's repeated urgings to submit to the king of Babylon as the only means of escaping utter destruction are a primary theme of the book. These exhortations are delivered at frequent intervals throughout the final years of Judah's decline, indicating that at any point along the way they could submit and "retain their life as a prize for war" (Jer 21:9; 38:2; 39:18; 45:5). Thus, after the first deportation in 597 BCE, Jeremiah implores Zedekiah and those who are left in the land of Judah to become vassals to Babylon with the words, "Serve the king of Babylon and live. Why should this city become a desolation?" (Jer 27:17). Zedekiah's failure to heed this warning instigates subsequent warnings with the same message that compliance will prevent both death and destruction of the city (Jer 38:17, 20-21). When further disregard for Jeremiah's warning results in a siege on the city, Jeremiah's message changes. Destruction of the city is now a guarantee, but surrender to captivity in Babylon will spare the lives of the people: "Behold, I set before you the way of life and the way of death. He who stays in this city shall die...but he who goes out and

surrenders to the Chaldeans who are besieging you shall live” (Jer 21:8-9). After the destruction of Jerusalem in 587 BCE the remaining Judeans living in rural areas again have the opportunity to escape death by remaining in the land under the governorship of Babylon (Jer 42:10-17).⁴⁸ However, this possibility is also revoked when they assassinate Gedaliah and escape to Egypt. The remaining hope for the nation then resides with the exiles who had submitted to Babylonian captivity.⁴⁹ It is to this community that Jeremiah urges, “Seek the welfare of the city where I have sent you in exile, and pray to the LORD on its behalf, for in its welfare you will find your welfare” (Jer 29:7), thus encouraging them with the assurance that the duration of their captivity will be restricted to the time appointed by God (Jer 29:10-14).

The similar theme of submission in both 2 Kings and Jeremiah makes their points of divergence all the more striking. Three narrative segments distinguish Jeremiah’s account from that of 2 Kings: the absence of 2 Kings 23:30b-24:17 depicting the reigns of Jehoahaz, Jehoiakim, and Jehoiachin; the presence of a summary list of deportees in Jer 52:28-30; and the absence of the account of Gedaliah’s governorship in 2 Kgs 25:22-26. In each case, these divergences between the two accounts emphasize that the events of 587 BCE fulfilled the prophetic warnings of judgment on Judah.

As was mentioned above, the extended account of the fall of Judah in 2 Kgs 23:30b-24:17 may be the result of a struggle to correlate the prophetic word to events occurring between 597 and 587 BCE. By contrast, the book of Jeremiah recognizes

⁴⁸ Peter Ackroyd suggests that Jeremiah’s choice to return to Judah with the newly appointed governor Gedaliah (Jer 40:1-6) may be for the purpose of reiterating his policy of submission to Babylon as the only hope for the community’s future wellbeing. Jeremiah’s support of Gedaliah is explained by his role as representative of Babylonian hegemony. Ackroyd, *Exile and Restoration*, 56-57.

⁴⁹ This repeated resistance to the terms of Babylonian overlordship by the remnant in Judah and Jerusalem after 597 and 587 BCE shifts the character of the oracles promising future restoration so that they now apply particularly to the exiles in Babylon. Ibid., 57, n. 27; Seitz, “Crisis of Interpretation”; Carroll, *Jeremiah*, 292; Lipschits, *Fall and Rise*, 347.

587 BCE as the decisive point in history to which the prophetic judgment is directed. The concentration of the fall of Judah in Zedekiah's time counter-balances the account in 2 Kings which, at successive stages in the process of Judah's decline, interpreted several of the events leading up to the final collapse of the nation as the fulfilment of God's prophetic word of judgment (2 Kgs 24:2, 13).

Several features of the Jeremiah narrative corroborate this point. First, Jeremiah's sole focus on 587 BCE as the fulfilment of the prophetic word is indicated by the superscription to the book (Jer 1:1-3) which foreshadows the captivity of Jerusalem in Zedekiah's eleventh year but does not even mention the events of 597 BCE.⁵⁰ Second, the summary report of Zedekiah's reign in 2 Kgs 24:18-19 and the additional statement in 2 Kgs 24:20 that, "Because of the anger of the LORD it came to the point in Jerusalem and Judah that he cast them out from his presence" are transformed in Jeremiah to function not as a conclusion to the deportation of 597 BCE, but as an *introduction* to the fall of Jerusalem in 587 BCE (Jer 52:1-3).⁵¹ Third, though both 2 Kings and Jeremiah attach Judah's punishment to the sins of Manasseh (2 Kgs 24:3; Jer 15:1-4), in 2 Kings this judgment is linked to the reign of Jehoiakim, while Jeremiah links the sins of Manasseh to the four-fold punishment of pestilence, sword, famine, and captivity which characterize *Zedekiah's* reign (Jer 15:2; 21:9).⁵²

This attempt to focus the reader's attention on the events of 587 BCE as the fulfilment of God's judgment on Judah is further highlighted by the second distinctive feature of Jeremiah's account: the insertion of the non-synoptic list of deportees in Jer 52:28-30. A similar list occurs in 2 Kgs 24:14-16 with regard to the deportation of 597 BCE. The reason for the addition of this list in Jeremiah may be the exclusion of

⁵⁰ Seitz, *Theology in Conflict*, 166.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 193.

⁵² John Hill, "The Construction of Time in Jeremiah 25 (MT)," in *Troubling Jeremiah*, ed. Kathleen M. O'Connor, A. R. Pete Diamond, and Louis Stulman, JSOTSup 260 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1999), 146-60 (153).

2 Kgs 24 and the resulting need to provide a summary tally of deportees.⁵³ At any rate, the list in Jer 52:28-30 emphasizes the finality of Judah's demise and underscores that the events of 587 BCE are the culmination of God's judgment on Judah. Similarly, this theme is accentuated by the third distinguishing feature of Jeremiah's presentation of the fall of Judah, the absence of the Gedaliah narrative (2 Kgs 25:22-26). In Jer 52, this exclusion has the effect of depicting an utterly deported city after 587 BCE without the possibility of continued life in the land under Gedaliah's leadership.

However, in addition to emphasizing that 587 BCE was the decisive point in history which fulfilled the prophetic judgment, Jeremiah's presentation of the fall of Judah also introduces another theme: the anticipation of restoration from exile. John Hill argues that the numerous temporal indicators in the book of Jeremiah do not just impart chronological information but function as symbolic indicators.⁵⁴ In the wider context of the book, the year 587 BCE is associated not only with the fall of Judah, but also with the hope of return to the land. In that year, not only did Jerusalem fall (Jer 39:1-2; 52:12; 2 Kgs 25:8), but, Hill points out, Jeremiah bought a plot of land (Jer 32:1-2) signifying the promise that "houses and fields and vineyards shall again be bought in this land" (Jer 32:15).⁵⁵ By focusing attention on the events of 587 BCE, the book of Jeremiah not only presents the devastation during Zedekiah's reign as the ultimate judgment on Judah, but also raises anticipation for the prophesied restoration.

This theme of restoration also emerges in Jer 52 as a result of the exclusion of 2 Kgs 23:30b-24:17 and 2 Kgs 25:22-26. It has been shown that 2 Kings draws a parallel between Jehoiakim and Zedekiah, the two kings who rebelled against the king

⁵³ Seitz, *Theology in Conflict*, 193.

⁵⁴ Hill, "Construction of Time." See also Marion Ann Taylor, "Jeremiah 45: The Problem of Placement," *JSOT* 37 (1987): 79-98 (88).

⁵⁵ Hill, "Construction of Time," 150-53.

of Babylon, and between Gedaliah and Jehoiachin, the two kings who submitted to Babylonian authority. In Jer 52, by contrast, an association is created between Zedekiah and Jehoiachin who both lived as deportees in Babylon for the rest of their lives. This is underscored in Jeremiah's presentation through the omission of the accounts of Jehoahaz (2 Kgs 23:30b-34), Jehoiakim (2 Kgs 23:35-24:7), Jehoiachin (2 Kgs 24:18-20), and Gedaliah (2 Kgs 25:22-26), as well as through the non-synoptic addition of the words in Jer 52:11 and 34, "עַד-יוֹם מוֹתוֹ" "until the day of his death," with regard to Zedekiah and Jehoiachin, respectively. Scholars generally take the notice of Jehoiachin's death as a deliberate polemic against 2 Kgs 25:27-30 which leaves open the possibility that the release of Jehoiachin initiates return to the land and continuation of the Davidic line. Such hope is articulated by the prophet Hananiah in Jer 28:4 who promises the overthrow of Babylon and repatriation of Israel under Jehoiachin's leadership. However, Hananiah's oracle directly opposes Jeremiah who prophesied that Jehoiachin would neither return to the land nor have a successor resume Davidic rule over Israel (Jer 22:24-30). The addition of the notice of Jehoiachin's death, therefore, validates the accuracy of Jeremiah's prophecies of judgment. But in so doing, it establishes grounds for the reliability of Jeremiah's promises of consolation beyond exile.

It is these prophetic assurances of restoration in Jeremiah which most differentiate its presentation of the exile from that of Kings. Whereas 2 Kings refrains from explicitly offering hope of return to the land after exile, focusing instead on the necessity of the exile itself, Jeremiah emphasizes that though the exile is long (Jer 29:28), its duration is limited (70 years, Jer 25:12; 29:10) and will be followed by a glorious restoration of the land, the monarchy, and the cult. A more thorough investigation of Jeremiah's description of future restoration will highlight the

differences between the two works and serve as a foundation for the examination of Chronicles in which this material from Jeremiah is integrated in order to emphasize the possibility of restoration.

Hope for Restoration in the Book of Jeremiah

Understanding the perspective of Jeremiah regarding Judah's restoration is complicated by several structural oddities within the book. These include a non-chronological sequence of material, especially in chapters 21-36 where several of the ideas relevant to this study are contained; the juxtaposition of diverse types of genre, such as poetic oracle, prose narrative, biography, and sermon; frequent duplication of material (e.g. chapters 7 and 26; 25 and 36; 39 and 52); and occasional inconsistency in ideology between the distinct sections (e.g. the metaphor of the good and bad figs in chapters 24 and 42). These compositional peculiarities are typically attributed to a long history of transmission, involving a diversity of sources⁵⁶ and redactional emendation.⁵⁷ Several passages specifically address the possibility of a future for

⁵⁶ Bernhard Duhm and Sigmund Mowinckel are principally associated with distinguishing sources in the book based on genre classification. The sources they identified include: authentic poetic oracles attributed to the prophet Jeremiah (source A), prose narratives containing biographical information about Jeremiah but written by someone else (source B), and supplemental homilies which reflect Deuteronomistic influence (source C). Sources A and B correspond generally to chapters 1-25 and 26-45, respectively, with C material interspersed throughout. Duhm, *Das Buch Jeremia*. Sigmund Mowinckel also posits a fourth source of future-oriented material (source D), *Zur Komposition*. Though contemporary research has moved into tradition-historical and redaction-oriented approaches, these divisions persist with only a handful of scholars proposing an alternative structural outline for the book, e.g. Jack R. Lundbom, *Jeremiah: A Study in Ancient Hebrew Rhetoric* (Winona Lake, Indiana: Eisenbrauns, 1997).

⁵⁷ Identification of redactional stratification is typically based on differences in content and theology within the book. Theories about the dates, motivations, and scope of the redactions are varied. For example, one view is that the original core of material was directed toward Northern Israel and only subsequently used as a message for Judah. Paul Volz, *Der prophet Jeremia*, KZAT (Leipzig: 1922); Wilhelm Rudolph, *Jeremia*, HAT 1,12 (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1968). Another theory posits redactions made by the community that remained in Judah after the exile and by those deported to Babylon, each advancing itself as the legitimate community of faith during the exile. Pohlmann, *Studien zum Jeremiabuch*; Ackroyd, "Historians and Prophets"; Seitz, "Crisis of Interpretation"; idem, *Theology in Conflict*; Rainer Albertz, *Israel in Exile: The History and Literature of the Sixth Century B.C.E.* (Atlanta: SBL, 2003); Sharp, *Prophecy and Ideology*. Radical differences between the LXX, MT, and 4QJer texts of Jeremiah also provide an avenue for exploring redactional activity. Gerald

Israel beyond exile: Jer 3:12-14; 12:14-16; 17:25-26; 22:4; 24:6-7; 29:10-14; 30:8-11; 31:31-34; 32:37-41; 33:6-9; 50:4-5, 19-20. Though a few have posited that all prophecies of future restoration in the book stem from a late date,⁵⁸ most scholars do not consign the messages of hope to a single literary layer, but see them interspersed throughout the stages of the book's composition.

Jeremiah's vision of the nation's future restoration is characterized, in the first instance, by return to the land (Jer 12:15; 16:14-15; 23:3, 7-8; 24:6; 29:10, 14; 30:3, 10-11; 31:8-10; 32:37).⁵⁹ Not only is the land repopulated in Jeremiah's ideal vision, but Israel and Judah are reunited as a single nation within the land (Jer 3:18; 23:6; 30:3; 31:27; 33:14-15; 50:4). Their habitation in the land is marked by peace and security (Jer 23:6; 30:8, 10; 32:37; 33:6, 16; 46:27), honour from surrounding nations (Jer 3:17; 30:19; 33:9), and prosperity and increased population (Jer 3:16; 23:3; 30:3, 18-20; 31:5, 12; 33:6-7, 12; 50:19). Jeremiah's vision of return to the land is most graphically characterized by celebration and worship (Jer 17:26; 30:19; 31:4, 7, 12, 13; 33:11). Mention of offerings and sacrifices being brought to the house of the LORD (Jer 17:26; 33:11) indicates that the temple is a prominent feature in Jeremiah's image of Israel's future.

Closely associated with this vision of return to the land and re-establishment of worship in the temple is the reinstatement of the Davidic monarchy.⁶⁰ The ideal

Janzen, *Studies in the Text of Jeremiah*, HSM 6 (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1973); McKane, *Jeremiah*.

⁵⁸ E.g., Mowinckel, *Zur Komposition*; Siegfried Herrmann, *Die prophetischen Heilserwartungen im Alten Testament: Ursprung und Gestaltswandel*, BWANT 85 (Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer, 1965). More recent proposals which deny that any of the salvation material is authentic to the prophet Jeremiah include Carroll, *Jeremiah*; McKane, *Jeremiah*.

⁵⁹ Johan Lust points out that the book of Jeremiah employs formulaic language in each of these passages to depict the nation's gathering (קָבַץ) and return (שׁוּב in the Hiphil stem), "'Gathering and Return' in Jeremiah and Ezekiel," in *Le Livre de Jérémie: Le Prophète et son Milieu les Oracles et leur Transmission*, ed. Pierre-Maurice Bogaert, BETL 54 (Leuven: University Press, 1981), 119-42.

⁶⁰ Klaus Baltzer argues that the positive portrayal of Gedaliah in Jer 40-41 reflects an anti-monarchical, anti-Davidic tendency, "Ende des Staates Juda," 35-36. However, such a subtle means of expressing anti-Davidic sentiment is unlikely, especially when combined with the overt expressions of

king, according to Jeremiah, will be from the line of David and his reign will be characterized by wisdom, justice and righteousness (Jer 23:5). A distinctive component of Jeremiah's ideal form of government is that it is conceived of as a diarchy rather than a monarchy; king and priests are portrayed as co-rulers within the community. The oracle in Jer 33:14-26 reaffirms the promise of a Davidic dynasty from 2 Sam 7 in spite of its collapse in 587 BCE:⁶¹ "I will fulfil the promise I made to the house of Israel and the house of Judah. In those days and at that time I will cause a righteous Branch to spring up for David" (Jer 33:14-15). Jer 33:17 echoes language of 1 Kgs 2:4, stating, "For thus says the LORD: David shall never lack a man to sit on the throne of the house of Israel, **כִּי־כֹה אָמַר יְהוָה לֹא־יִכָּרֵת לְדָוִד אִישׁ יָשֵׁב עַל־כִּסֵּא** (Jer 33:17; cf. 1 Kgs 2:4, **יִשְׂרָאֵל: לֹא־יִכָּרֵת לְךָ אִישׁ מֵעַל כִּסֵּא יִשְׂרָאֵל**). But to this assurance is added a parallel guarantee to the Levitical priests based on the priestly covenant of Num 25:12-13, "and the Levitical priests shall never lack a man in my presence to offer burnt offerings, to burn grain offerings, and to make sacrifices forever, **וְלִכְהֻנֵּהם הָלוֹיִם לֹא־יִכָּרֵת אִישׁ מִלִּפְנֵי מַעֲלָה עוֹלָה וּמִקְטִיר מִנְחָה וְעֹשֶׂה זֶבַח כָּל־הַיָּמִים** (Jer 33:18). This conjoining of royal and priestly roles emphasizes that the cult is an essential feature of the kingdom.

For this reason, the city of Jerusalem takes on increased symbolic significance in Jeremiah. Two modifications in Jer 33:16 of the earlier oracle in Jer 23:5-6 demonstrate this point. First, where Jer 23:6 states, "Judah will be saved, and *Israel* will dwell securely, **תְּשׁוּעַ יְהוּדָה וְיִשְׂרָאֵל יֵשְׁבֹן לְבֶטֶח**" Jer 33:16 reads, "Judah will be

hope for a Davidic king elsewhere in Jeremiah. Instead, the positive portrayal of Gedaliah serves Jeremiah's polemic of submission to the conditions of exile.

⁶¹ The premise of the destroyed monarchy and temple in Jer 33:24 indicates an exilic or post-exilic date for the passage which appears to rework an earlier oracle found in Jer 23:5-6. The absence of Jer 33 from the LXX text as well as 4QJer^b and 4QJer^d further contributes to the thesis that it is a late redactional addition. Carroll, *Jeremiah*, 637.

saved, and *Jerusalem* will dwell securely, תִּשְׁכֹּן לְבֶטֶחַ, תִּשְׁכֹּן יְרוּשָׁלַם יְהוּדָה וְיִשְׂרָאֵל.” This is the antecedent for the second alteration from “this is the name by which *he* [i.e., the Branch of David] will be called: ‘The LORD is our righteousness,’ וְזֶה שְׁמוֹ אֲשֶׁר יִקְרָא” (Jer 23:6) to “this is the name by which *it* [i.e., Jerusalem] will be called: ‘the LORD is our righteousness,’ וְזֶה אֲשֶׁר יִקְרָא לָהּ יְהוּדָה וְיִשְׂרָאֵל” (Jer 33:16). This reassignment of the significance of the Davidic king onto the personified city is further illuminated by Jer 3:17 where Jerusalem symbolizes God’s rulership and presence: “At that time Jerusalem shall be called the throne of the LORD, and all nations shall gather to it, to the presence of the LORD in Jerusalem.” A clear theocratic ideal is evident in Jeremiah’s vision of Israel’s future in the land. The Davidic kingdom is not only infused with cultic activity, but represents the rule and presence of God.

Conclusion

In summary, there is a significant amount of literary overlap between Kings and Jeremiah which is best explained by multi-directional influence between the books as the editors and compilers of both works struggled to understand historical events in light of prophetic utterances. Both works share the theme of God’s justice in punishing a defiant people, his forbearance in sending prophets to warn of the impending judgment, and, when that failed, the necessity of the people’s submission to God’s discipline. However, the shared account of the collapse of Jerusalem in 2 Kgs 23:30b-25:30 and Jer 52 demonstrates that Jeremiah contains a sharper presentation of both judgment and restoration. Whereas 2 Kings presents an account of Judah’s gradual decline in which events under Jehoiakim, Jehoiachin, and

Zedekiah are all perceived to be the climax of God's judgment, Jer 52 concentrates on 587 BCE as the apex of Judah's punishment. Similarly, where 2 Kings emphasizes the necessity of submission to Babylonian captivity, Jeremiah goes further and emphasizes the much more glorious restoration which will revitalize and transform all aspects of Israel's life before God. The restoration promised in Jeremiah is an idealized and utopian vision which includes return to the land, restoration of the monarchy, and reinstatement of proper worship. It remains now to explore how both portrayals of 2 Kings and Jeremiah are fused in the Chronicler's account of the fall of Judah and to discern the effects achieved by such a synthesis.

Chapter 5

THE FALL OF JUDAH IN 2 CHRONICLES 36

While the accounts of 2 Kings and Jeremiah present Judah's downfall and captivity as God's just judgment for the nation's sin, Chronicles presents the exile from the perspective of its completion, thus emphasizing its atoning efficacy. This is highlighted in the Chronicler's distinctive portrayal of the fall of Judah in 2 Chr 36:1-23. Nevertheless, literary and thematic consistencies with 2 Kgs 23:30b-25:30 and Jer 52:1-34 indicate that these alternative versions of the narrative influenced the Chronicler's portrayal. Foremost among these similarities are adherence to the basic structure of the accounts in 2 Kings and Jeremiah and the replication of individual passages from 2 Kgs 23:30b-25:30 and Jer 52. In addition, an examination of 2 Chr 36 reveals that, as with the Hezekiah narrative in 2 Chr 28-32, the Chronicler integrates verbal and thematic elements from the wider context of the book of Jeremiah. The result is an account of Judah's departure into exile which is infused with restoration overtones, thus inspiring in the post-exilic readership renewed hope for Jeremiah's vision of a glorious future for Israel.

Literary Dependence in 2 Chr 36

The account of the fall of Jerusalem in 2 Chr 36 bears linguistic and structural similarities with both 2 Kings and Jeremiah, suggesting familiarity with both accounts. Like 2 Kings, Chronicles describes the reigns of the last four kings of Judah in one continuous narrative, instead of picking up the account at the beginning of the reign of Zedekiah as does the Jer 52 version. As was seen with the Hezekiah narrative, the Chronicler incorporates a modified form of the Deuteronomistic regnal reports¹ from 2 Kings as a way of structuring his accounts of Jehoahaz (2 Chr 36:1-2//2 Kgs 23:30b-31), Jehoiakim (2 Chr 36:5, 8//2 Kgs 23:36-37; 24:5-6), Jehoiachin (2 Chr 36:9//2 Kgs 24:8-9), and Zedekiah (2 Chr 36:11-12//2 Kgs 24:18). In addition to the repetition of this literary feature, the structure of the portrayal of each king is analogous in both 2 Kings and 2 Chronicles, though in condensed form in the Chronistic version.²

Indication of the influence which Jeremiah material had on the Chronistic presentation is found primarily in the mention of the prophet Jeremiah four times in the concluding portion of the book (2 Chr 35:25; 36:12, 21, 22), marking him as the primary prophetic authority in the Chronicler's perception of Judah's final years. Three times in 2 Chr 36:21-22 an event is described as a "fulfilment" of Jeremiah's prophecies (לְמַלְאוֹת twice in 2 Chr 36:21 and לְכָלוֹת in 2 Chr 36:22). In each case, the

¹ Routine modifications to the Deuteronomistic regnal summaries are the omission of the name of the kings' mothers (from the account of Manasseh onwards: 2 Chr 33:1//2 Kgs 21:1; 2 Chr 33:21//2 Kgs 21:19; 2 Chr 34:1//2 Kgs 22:1; 2 Chr 36:2, 5, 11//2 Kgs 23:31, 36; 24:18), and the omission of the comparison of the kings to their fathers. Jonathan Dyck points out that in Chronicles the expression, "according to all that his father had done, אָבִיו אֲשֶׁר-עָשָׂה" only occurs to provide a *positive* evaluation of kings: Uzziah with reference to Amaziah (2 Chr 26:4); Jotham with reference to Uzziah (2 Chr 27:2); and Hezekiah with reference to David (2 Chr 29:2), *Theocratic Ideology*, 78, n. 1. A possible theological reason for this exclusion in Chronicles will be suggested below.

² Sara Japhet observes that the Chronicler's abridgement of the accounts of the final four kings is uncharacteristic since in every other account from Rehoboam onwards Chronicles is more expanded than Kings, *Ideology of Chronicles*, 365.

antecedent immediately preceding the infinitive recalls an oracle from Jeremiah describing the terms of Judah's exile and restoration. Furthermore, several structural features of the Chronistic account of Judah's downfall share affinity with the portrayal in the book of Jeremiah. Rather than presenting Judah's decline as a steady process extending over ten years, the account in Chronicles, like Jer 52, concentrates the fall of the city during the reign of Zedekiah. The two deportations of Judean inhabitants in 597 and 587 BCE depicted in 2 Kgs 24:14 and 25:11 are replaced in 2 Chr 36:17-20 with the deportation of the people occurring only under Zedekiah. In addition, like Jer 52, the account in Chronicles omits the narrative of Gedaliah's governorship recorded in 2 Kgs 25:22-26. These structural similarities, which point toward the Chronicler's dependence on both the 2 Kings and Jeremiah versions of the fall of Judah, are illustrated in the following chart.

Table 5.1: Structural Comparison of the Accounts of the Fall of Judah

<u>Jeremiah</u>	<u>2 Kings</u>	<u>2 Chronicles</u>
	<u>23:30b-34: Reign of Jehoahaz</u> 23:30b: Jehoahaz made king after Josiah's death 23:31-32: Introductory report, including a negative evaluation 23:33: Jehoahaz deposed; tax levied against Jerusalem 23:34: Jehoahaz dies in Egypt; Jehoiakim made king	<u>36:1-4: Reign of Jehoahaz</u> 36:1: Jehoahaz made king after Josiah's death 36:2: Introductory report 36:3: Jehoahaz deposed; tax levied against Jerusalem 36:4: Jehoahaz carried to Egypt; Jehoiakim made king
	<u>23:35-24:7: Reign of Jehoiakim</u> 23:35: Jehoiakim pays tax to Pharaoh 23:36-37: Introductory report, including a negative evaluation 24:1: Jehoiakim becomes servant to Nebuchadnezzar but later rebels against him 24:2: Jerusalem attacked 24:3-4: Commentary statement of God's judgment 24:5-6: Concluding report 24:7: Babylon replaces Egypt as threat against Judah	<u>36:5-8: Reign of Jehoiakim</u> 36:5: Introductory report, including a negative evaluation 36:6: Jehoiakim deported by Nebuchadnezzar and taken to Babylon 36:7: temple vessels also taken to Babylon 36:8: Concluding report

	<u>24:8-17: Reign of Jehoiachin</u> 24:8-9: Introductory report 24:10-11: Nebuchadnezzar besieges Jerusalem 24:12-16: Summary list of deportees: entire royal house, treasuries of palace and temple, and all but the poorest from the land 24:17: Zedekiah made king	<u>36:9-10: Reign of Jehoiachin</u> 36:9: Introductory report 24:10a: Nebuchadnezzar deports Jehoiachin and temple vessels 24:10b: Zedekiah made king
<u>52:1-3: Reign of Zedekiah</u> 52:1-3a: Introductory report including negative evaluation and commentary statement of God's judgment 52:3b: Zedekiah rebels against king of Babylon	<u>24:18-20: Reign of Zedekiah</u> 24:18-20a: Introductory report including negative evaluation and commentary statement of God's judgment 24:20b: Zedekiah rebels against king of Babylon	<u>36:11-13 Reign of Zedekiah</u> 36:11-12: Introductory report including negative evaluation 36:13: Zedekiah rebels against king of Babylon
<u>52:4-30: Fall of Judah</u> 52:4-8: Jerusalem besieged 52:9-11: Zedekiah captured and killed 52:12-14: Jerusalem burned 52:15-16: Inhabitants deported 52:17-23: Temple plundered 52:24-27: Additional deportees 52:28-30: Total accounting of deportees	<u>25:1-21: Fall of Judah</u> 25:1-5: Jerusalem besieged 25:6-7: Zedekiah captured and deported 25:8-10: Jerusalem burned 25:9-12: Inhabitants deported 25:13-17: Temple plundered 25:18-21: Additional deportees	<u>36:14-20: Fall of Judah</u> 36:14: Commentary statement of Judah's rebellion against God 36:15-16: God's warning through his prophets 36:17: Jerusalem besieged 36:18: Temple plundered ³ 36:19: Jerusalem burned 36:20: Inhabitants deported
	25:22-26: Gedaliah as governor	
52:31-34: Jehoiachin's release	25:27-30: Jehoiachin's release	
		36:21: Exile a fulfilment of prophecy 36:22-23: Decree of Cyrus

This diagram of the three biblical narratives of Judah's final years highlights not only their structural similarities but also the non-synoptic features of the Chronistic version. These consist primarily of the Chronicler's summary in 2 Chr 36:14-16 of the rebellion of the Judeans despite God's warnings, and the insertion of Cyrus's decree in 2 Chr 36:22-23. In addition, the Chronicler's depiction of the Babylonian invasion of Jerusalem in 2 Chr 36:17-21 is greatly condensed vis-à-vis 2

³ Chronicles describes the plundering of the temple prior to the burning of the city and deportation of the inhabitants. The reason for this alteration will be discussed in more detail below.

Kgs 25:1-21 and Jer 52:4-27. Chronicles does not describe the lengthy siege, famine, and breach in the city wall leading up to the exile of the Judeans (2 Kgs 25:1-7//Jer 52:4-11) but recounts the capture of Jerusalem in a single verse (2 Chr 36:17). Similar abbreviations characterize the Chronistic descriptions of the plundering of the temple (2 Chr 36:18 and 2 Kgs 25:13-17//Jer 52:17-23); the burning of the city (2 Chr 36:19 and 2 Kgs 25:8-10//Jer 52:12-14); and the deportation of the inhabitants (2 Chr 36:20 and 2 Kgs 25:9-12//Jer 52:15-16).

This condensing of the portrayal of the Babylonian siege on Jerusalem is offset by the Chronistic portrayal of additional exilic experiences in the immediately preceding chapters of the book. These insertions include the deportation of captives to Damascus (2 Chr 28:5), Samaria (2 Chr 28:8), Edom (2 Chr 28:17), and Assyria (2 Chr 30:6) during the reign of Ahaz (all non-synoptic), and the deportation of Kings Manasseh (33:11, non-synoptic), Jehoahaz (2 Chr 36:3), Jehoiakim (2 Chr 36:6, non-synoptic), and Jehoiachin (2 Chr 36:10). By condensing the description of Babylon's capture of Jerusalem in 2 Chr 36:17-20 and inserting these additional notices of deportations prior to the Babylonian captivity, the Chronicler downplays the acuteness of the exile under Babylon as the consummation of Judah's history. According to Hugh Williamson, "The Chronicler has made the exile into a recurring, 'typical' situation within the continuing life of the community."⁴

Most significant in this repetition of the theme of exile is the corresponding pattern of recovery that is created in the outworking of the narrative. Those taken captive under Ahaz (2 Chr 28:5, 8, 17) are restored during Hezekiah's reign (2 Chr 29:9; 30:9), while Manasseh's captivity (2 Chr 33:11) comes to an end during the course of his own reign (2 Chr 33:13). Similarly, the Chronistic account of the fall of

⁴ Williamson, *1 and 2 Chronicles*, 368.

Jerusalem to Babylon is followed by the decree of Cyrus (2 Chr 36:22-23) signifying the end of the nation's exile. This reversal of fortunes from exile to restoration reflects a drastic departure in the Chronicler's account of Judah's history vis-à-vis 2 Kings. In contrast to the portrayal in 2 Kings of escalating guilt, Chronicles presents the sins of Ahaz and Manasseh as periods of *regression*. At no point is Judah beyond the possibility of full restoration; each king has the capacity to deny the sins of his father or to reverse his own sin. Instead of an unalterable trajectory of decline into exile, Chronicles presents Israel's history as fluctuating between the possibilities of exile and restoration. In the words of Jonathan Dyck, "The oscillation between exile and restoration suggests that the kingdom of Yahweh is always under threat, yet never under threat."⁵ In order to achieve this schema, the Chronicler has modified several details of the depictions in 2 Kings 23-25 and, in the case of Zedekiah's reign, Jeremiah 52, while still retaining sufficient literary affinity to ascertain textual dependence. Each of these accounts will be examined in detail to discern the degree of verbal similarity and the nature of the Chronicler's modifications.

Verbal Correspondences in 2 Chr 36

The Reign of Jehoahaz

The Chronistic account of Jehoahaz's reign reflects a high degree of similarity to the parallel version in 2 Kgs 23:30b-34, both in structure and verbal expression. Both accounts describe the people of the land making Jehoahaz king (2 Chr 36:1//2 Kgs 23:30b) which is followed by a report of the age of the king and the duration of his reign according to the typical Deuteronomistic method (2 Chr 36:2//2 Kgs 23:31a). Few details are given in either account of the events of Jehoahaz's reign; these are

⁵ Dyck, *Theocratic Ideology*, 223.

limited to a description of the Pharaoh of Egypt capturing Jehoahaz, laying a tax on the land, appointing Eliakim king and changing his name to Jehoiakim. However, slight differences between the two accounts indicate the distinct emphasis which has been assigned to the material in the context of Chronicles. These differences are visually represented in the following comparison of the two passages; the material in *italics* indicates portions where the two accounts diverge.

Table 5.2: Comparison of the Reign of Jehoahaz

2 Kgs 23:30b-34

2 Chr 36:1-4

<p>וַיִּקַּח עִם־הָאָרֶץ אֶת־יְהוֹאָחָז בֶּן־יֹאשִׁיָּהוּ וַיִּמְשְׁחוּ אֹתוֹ וַיַּמְלִיכוּ אֹתוֹ תַּחַת־אָבִיו: 30b) And the people of the land took Jehoahaz the son of Josiah, and anointed him, and made him king in his father's place.</p>	<p>וַיִּקַּח עִם־הָאָרֶץ אֶת־יְהוֹאָחָז בֶּן־יֹאשִׁיָּהוּ וַיִּמְלִיכוּ תַּחַת־אָבִיו בִּירוּשָׁלַם: 1) The people of the land took Jehoahaz the son of Josiah and made him king in his father's place in Jerusalem.</p>
<p>בְּזֶעֱשָׂרִים וְשָׁלֹשׁ שָׁנָה יְהוֹאָחָז בָּמָלְכוֹ וּשְׁלֹשָׁה חֳדָשִׁים מָלַךְ בִּירוּשָׁלַם 31) Jehoahaz was twenty-three years old when he began to reign; and he reigned three months in Jerusalem. וְשֵׁם אִמּוֹ חַמוּטָל בַּת־יִרְמְיָהוּ מִלִּבְנָה: His mother's name was Hamutal the daughter of Jeremiah of Libnah.</p>	<p>בְּזֶעֱשָׁוֶשׁ וְעֶשְׂרִים שָׁנָה יוֹאָחָז בָּמָלְכוֹ וּשְׁלֹשָׁה חֳדָשִׁים מָלַךְ בִּירוּשָׁלַם: 2) Jehoahaz was twenty-three years old when he began to reign; and he reigned three months in Jerusalem.</p>
<p>וַיַּעַשׂ הָרַע כְּכָל־אֲשֶׁר־עָשָׂה אָבִיתָיו: 32) And he did what was evil in the sight of the LORD, according to all that his father had done.</p>	
<p>וַיֹּאסְרֵהוּ פָּרְעֹה נֶכֶד: 33) And Pharaoh Neco put him in bonds בְּרִבְלָה בְּאֶרֶץ חַמָּת בְּמִלְךְ at Riblah in the land of Hamath, that he might not reign בִּירוּשָׁלַם וַיִּתֵּן עָנֹשׁ עַל־הָאָרֶץ מֵאָה כֶּכֶר־כֶּסֶף וְכֶכֶר זָהָב: in Jerusalem, and laid on the land a tribute of a hundred talents of silver and a talent of gold.</p>	<p>וַיִּסְרִיֶּהוּ מֶלֶךְ־מִצְרַיִם 3) And the king of Egypt removed him בִּירוּשָׁלַם וַיַּעֲנֹשׂ אֶת־הָאָרֶץ מֵאָה כֶּכֶר־כֶּסֶף וְכֶכֶר זָהָב: from Jerusalem, and laid on the land a tribute of a hundred talents of silver and a talent of gold.</p>
<p>וַיַּמְלִךְ פָּרְעֹה נֶכֶד אֶת־אֱלִיאִקִּים 34) And Pharaoh Neco made Eliakim king בֶּן־יֹאשִׁיָּהוּ תַּחַת יֹאשִׁיָּהוּ אָבִיו the son of Josiah, in the place of Josiah his father וַיַּסֵּב אֶת־שְׁמוֹ יְהוֹיָקִים and changed his name to Jehoiakim. וְאֶת־יְהוֹאָחָז לָקַח וַיָּבֵא מִצְרַיִם But he took Jehoahaz and he came to Egypt וַיָּמָת שָׁם: and he died there.</p>	<p>וַיַּמְלִךְ מֶלֶךְ־מִצְרַיִם אֶת־אֱלִיאִקִּים 4) And the king of Egypt made Eliakim king אָחִיו עַל־יְהוּדָה וּירוּשָׁלַם his brother, over Judah and Jerusalem וַיַּסֵּב אֶת־שְׁמוֹ יְהוֹיָקִים and changed his name to Jehoiakim. וְאֶת־יְהוֹאָחָז אָחִיו לָקַח נָכוֹ וַיְבִיֵּאֵהוּ מִצְרַיִם: But Neco took Jehoahaz his brother and brought him to Egypt.</p>

The 2 Kings and 2 Chronicles accounts of Jehoahaz's reign manifest equivalent structure and word-for-word replication of several clauses. Where differences appear, they are, in some cases, stylistic, and include the Chronicler's

preference for referring to Pharaoh Neco as “the king of Egypt, מֶלֶךְ-מִצְרַיִם”⁶ and to Jehoiakim as “his [Jehoahaz’s] brother, אָחִיו.”⁷ Other differences between the versions result from the Chronicler’s condensing of the material in 2 Kings to avoid details which are not crucial to the account. For example, the Chronicler excludes the point that the people of the land “anointed” Jehoahaz (2 Kgs 23:30b) when they made him king and the unessential detail that Pharaoh Neco captured Jehoahaz “at Riblah in the land of Hamath, that he might not reign” (2 Kgs 23:33). In addition, the Chronicler has made routine modifications to the Deuteronomistic regnal summary in keeping with his tendency. The removal of the assessment, “He did what was evil in the sight of the LORD, וַיַּעַשׂ הָרַע בְּעֵינֵי יְהוָה” (2 Kgs 23:32) is curious, especially in light of its retention in the accounts of the following three kings (2 Chr 36:5, 9, 12//2 Kgs 23:37; 24:9, 19). Considering the Chronicler’s typical inclusion of this detail from 2 Kings, its omission here may be a case of scribal error.⁸ More significant variations may be the Chronicler’s geographical focus on Jerusalem and the non-mention of Jehoahaz’s death in Egypt (2 Kgs 23:34). The Chronicist focus on Jerusalem is observed in the addition of “in Jerusalem, בִּירוּשָׁלַם” in 2 Chr 36:1, which, in light of the presence of this phrase in the immediately following clause (2 Chr 36:2), makes its reiteration unnecessary. Similarly, Chronicles includes the phrase “over Judah and Jerusalem, עַל-יְהוּדָה וְיִירוּשָׁלַם” (2 Chr 36:4) when describing the ascension of Jehoahaz’s brother to the throne. This emphasis on Jerusalem also

⁶ But compare 2 Chr 36:4b where he is referred to as נֶכּוֹ. This preference for the title “king of Egypt” may be related to the Chronicler’s geographical focus on Jerusalem (see below); this designation therefore emphasizes Egypt over and against Jerusalem.

⁷ Compare 2 Kgs 23:34 which, instead of emphasizing the geo-political scope of Jehoiakim’s reign, “Judah and Jerusalem,” emphasizes his entitlement to the throne with the phrase, “in the place of Josiah his father.” See also 2 Chr 36:10.

⁸ Japhet, *I & II Chronicles*, 1063.

explains the Chronicler's use of the root סור to describe Jehoahaz's deportation in 2 Chr 36:3 instead of אסר as in 2 Kgs 23:34. With this verb, followed by the phrase בִּירוּשָׁלַם, the Chronicler emphasizes the king's removal from Jerusalem.⁹ This picture of a forceful removal from Jerusalem is reinforced by the use of the Hiphil stem in the concluding statement that Neco "brought him to Egypt, וַיְבִיֵּאֵהוּ מִצְרָיִם" (2 Chr 36:4) where 2 Kgs 23:34 asserts that Jehoahaz "came to Egypt, וַיָּבֹא מִצְרָיִם". Finally, the Chronicler omits the notice that Jehoahaz died in Egypt (2 Kgs 23:34). As will be seen, this tendency to exclude mention of the king's death characterizes the Chronistic accounts of the last four kings of Judah.

The Reign of Jehoiakim

The account of Jehoiakim's reign in Chronicles similarly reproduces the basic structure of the version preserved in 2 Kgs 23:35-24:7, though with more extensive condensing of the historical details. The Deuteronomistic introductory report detailing the age of the king upon assuming the throne and length of his reign has been repeated verbatim (2 Kgs 23:36a//2 Chr 36:5a). As is expected, the negative evaluation, "he did what was evil in the sight of the LORD" (2 Kgs 23:37//2 Chr 36:5b) has also been retained by the Chronicler, while the name of the queen mother and the comparison of Jehoiakim to his father have been excluded. The Chronicler also imitates the Deuteronomistic concluding statement from 2 Kgs 24:5-6 by referencing where the reader might find more information about Jehoiakim's reign¹⁰ and that Jehoiachin his

⁹ Use of the root סור also makes retention of the phrase "at Riblah in the land of Hamath" (2 Kgs 23:33) ill-fitting.

¹⁰ The name of the historical source is different in 2 Kgs 24:5 and 2 Chr 36:8. Whereas the first mentions "the Book of the Chronicles of the Kings of Judah," the latter points the reader to "the Book

son reigned in his place (2 Chr 36:8). Finally, the Chronicler introduces the crucial events of Jehoiakim's reign using a similar expression as that found in 2 Kings: "Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon came up, מֶלֶךְ בָּבֶל, עָלָה נְבוּכַדְנֶאצַּר" (2 Kgs 24:1//2 Chr 36:6), however, the political details of Jehoiakim's reign have been drastically reduced in the Chronicler's version. The Chronicler omits from the beginning of the account information about Jehoiakim's payment of tribute to Egypt (2 Kgs 23:35) and from the end of the account the explanation for why Egypt no longer poses a threat to Judah (2 Kgs 24:7). The description in 2 Kings of attacks from "bands of the Chaldeans and bands of the Syrians and bands of the Moabites and bands of the Ammonites" (2 Kgs 24:1) as well as the corresponding historical analysis that "this came upon Judah at the command of the LORD, to remove them out of his sight, for the sins of Manasseh" (2 Kgs 24:3) are reduced in Chronicles to a brief mention of the deportation of Jehoiakim and some of the temple vessels at the hands of Babylon (2 Chr 36:6-7). The verbal and structural parallels between the accounts, as well as the Chronicler's abbreviation of 2 Kgs 23:35-24:7 in 2 Chr 36:5-8, are depicted in the following table.

Table 5.3: Comparison of the Reign of Jehoiakim

2 Kgs 23:35-24:7

2 Chr 36:5-8

35) And Jehoiakim gave the silver and the gold to Pharaoh, but he taxed the land to give the money according to the command of Pharaoh. He exacted the silver and the gold of the people of the land, from everyone according to his assessment, to give it to Pharaoh Neco.	
בֶּן-עֶשְׂרִים וְחָמֵשׁ שָׁנָה יְהוֹיָקִים בְּמָלְכוֹ וְאַחַת עֶשְׂרֵה שָׁנָה מָלַךְ בִּירוּשָׁלַם 36) Jehoiakim was twenty-five years old when he began to reign, and he reigned eleven years in Jerusalem.	בֶּן-עֶשְׂרִים וְחָמֵשׁ שָׁנָה יְהוֹיָקִים בְּמָלְכוֹ וְאַחַת עֶשְׂרֵה שָׁנָה מָלַךְ בִּירוּשָׁלַם 5) Jehoiakim was twenty-five years old when he began to reign, and he reigned eleven years in Jerusalem.

of the Kings of Israel and Judah." A similar change is seen in 2 Chr 16:11; 20:34; 24:27; 25:26; 27:7; 28:26; 33:18; 35:27; 32:32; 35:27.

<p>וְשֵׁם אִמּוֹ זְבִידָה בַּת־פְּדִיָּה מִן־רֹמָה His mother's name was Zebidah the daughter of Pedaiah of Rumah.</p>	
<p>וַיַּעַשׂ הָרַע בְּעֵינֵי יְהוָה 37) And he did what was evil in the sight of the LORD, כָּל אֲשֶׁר־עָשׂוּ אֲבֹתָיו according to all that his fathers had done.</p>	<p>וַיַּעַשׂ הָרַע בְּעֵינֵי יְהוָה אֱלֹהָיו: He did what was evil in the sight of the LORD his God.</p>
<p>בַּיָּמִין עָלָה נְבוּכַדְנֶאצַּר מֶלֶךְ בָּבֶל 24:1) In his days, Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon came up, and Jehoiakim became his servant three years. Then he turned and rebelled against him. 2) And the LORD sent against him bands of the Chaldeans and bands of the Syrians and bands of the Moabites and bands of the Ammonites, and sent them against Judah to destroy it, according to the word of the LORD that he spoke by his servants the prophets. 3) Surely this came upon Judah at the command of the LORD, to remove them out of his sight, for the sins of Manasseh, according to all that he had done, 4) and also for the innocent blood that he had shed. For he filled Jerusalem with innocent blood, and the LORD would not pardon.</p>	<p>עָלָיו עָלָה נְבוּכַדְנֶאצַּר מֶלֶךְ בָּבֶל 6) Against him came up Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon וַיֹּאסְרוּהוּ בַּחֲשִׁתִּים לְהֵלִיכוֹ בָּבֶלָה: and bound him in chains to take him to Babylon.</p>
	<p>וּמִכָּל־בֵּית יְהוָה הֵבִיא נְבוּכַדְנֶאצַּר לְבָבֶל וַיְהִיגָם בְּהִיכָלוֹ בָּבֶל: 7) Nebuchadnezzar also carried part of the vessels of the house of the LORD to Babylon and put them in his palace in Babylon</p>
<p>וַיֵּתֶר דְּבָרֵי יְהוֹיָקִים וְכָל־אֲשֶׁר עָשָׂה 5) Now the rest of the deeds of Jehoiakim and all that he did, הֲלֹא־הֵם כְּתוּבִים עַל־סֵפֶר דְּבָרֵי הַיָּמִים לְמַלְכֵי יְהוּדָה: are they not written in the Book of the Chronicles of the Kings of Judah?</p>	<p>וַיֵּתֶר דְּבָרֵי יְהוֹיָקִים וְחַטֹּאתָיו אֲשֶׁר־עָשָׂה וְהַנִּמְצָא עָלָיו 8) Now the rest of the acts of Jehoiakim, and the abominations that he did, and what was found against him, הֲנֵם כְּתוּבִים עַל־סֵפֶר מַלְכֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל וַיְהוּדָה behold, they are written in the Book of the Kings of Israel and Judah.</p>
<p>וַיִּשְׁכַּב יְהוֹיָקִים עִם־אֲבֹתָיו 6) So Jehoiakim slept with his fathers, וַיִּמְלֹךְ יְהוֹיָכִין בְּנוֹ תַּחְתָּיו: And Jehoiachin his son reigned in his place.</p>	<p>וַיִּמְלֹךְ יְהוֹיָכִין בְּנוֹ תַּחְתָּיו: And Jehoiachin his son reigned in his place.</p>
<p>7) And the king of Egypt did not come again out of his land, for the king of Babylon had taken all that belonged to the king of Egypt from the Brook of Egypt to the river Euphrates.</p>	

As this comparison demonstrates, the Chronistic account of Jehoiakim's reign, though manifesting textual reliance on a version of the material in 2 Kings, shows the signs of significant alteration. The depiction of Babylon's attack on Judah is concentrated on the person of Jehoiakim in the Chronistic account as a result of the addition of the phrase, "against him, עָלָיו" (2 Chr 36:6) in the place of "in his days, בְּיָמָיו" (2 Kgs 24:1). This accords with his overall presentation of individual culpability in the book of Chronicles, but it also lessens the severity of Babylon's attack and makes the deportation of Jehoiakim a distinct event in Judah's history rather than a component of the gradual decline into Babylonian captivity. In contrast, the 2 Kings account of Jehoiakim mentions neither the king's deportation nor the partial removal of temple vessels.¹¹ Instead, according to 2 Kgs 24:1-2, Jehoiakim became a servant to Nebuchadnezzar, presumably while still remaining in Jerusalem, until he rebelled and provoked an attack. Jehoiakim's deportation as a result of this attack is not narrated in 2 Kings and all that is divulged about Jehoiakim's end is that he "slept with his fathers" (2 Kgs 24:6), a detail characteristically omitted from Chronicles. The concluding report of Jehoiakim's reign reflects an intensification of the king's negative portrayal through mention of "his abominations, וְתַעֲבֹתָיו" and "what was found against him, וְהַנִּמְצָא עָלָיו" (2 Chr 36:8). These details may also reflect the Chronicler's familiarity with the portrayal of Jehoiakim in the book of Jeremiah. Rabbi David Kimhi linked the Chronistic mention of Jehoiakim's "abominations" to Jer 22:13-17 which contains an oracle against Jehoahaz:

¹¹ Dan 1:1-2 seems to conflate the description of Jehoiakim in 2 Chronicles and 2 Kings by describing his deportation and the removal of some of the temple vessels (2 Chr 36:5-8) and dating it to the third year of his reign (2 Kgs 24:1).

Woe to him who builds his house by unrighteousness, and his upper rooms by injustice, who makes his neighbour serve him for nothing and does not give him his wages, who says, "I will build myself a great house with spacious upper rooms"...But you have eyes and heart only for your dishonest gain, for shedding innocent blood, and for practicing oppression and violence."¹²

Similarly, Sara Japhet suggests that reference to "what was found against him" may allude to Jehoiakim's rejection of Jeremiah's prophecy and burning of the scroll on which it was written (Jer 36:20-29) which provokes this prophecy against Jehoiakim in Jer 36:30-31a: "(30) Thus says the LORD concerning Jehoiakim king of Judah: He shall have none to sit on the throne of the David, and his dead body shall be cast out to the heat by day and the frost by night. 31) And I will punish him and his offspring and his servants for their iniquity."¹³

The Reign of Jehoiachin

Similar comparisons between 2 Kings and Chronicles are discernable in the account of Jehoiachin's reign. An expected correspondence is the replication of the Deuteronomistic introductory report detailing the age of the king, length of his reign, and negative evaluation (2 Kgs 24:8-9//2 Chr 36:9),¹⁴ while characteristic omissions include the absence of the name of the queen mother and the comparison of Jehoiachin to his father. In addition, the Chronicler has drastically condensed the

¹² *The Commentary of Rabbi David Kimhi to Chronicles: A Translation with Introduction and Supercommentary*, trans. Yitzhak Berger, BJS 345 (Providence, Rhode Island: Brown University, 2007), 279.

¹³ *I & II Chronicles*, 1066.

¹⁴ Two modifications to the introduction to Jehoiachin's reign in 2 Chr 36:9 are the notice that he was "eight years old when he became king" (2 Chr 36:9) as opposed to "eighteen years old" (2 Kgs 24:8) and that "he reigned three months and ten days in Jerusalem" versus "he reigned three months in Jerusalem." The designation "eight years" is probably a scribal error resulting from the displacement of עשרה after שמונה to the following phrase which indicates the length of his reign, thus accounting for the uncharacteristic addition of "ten days." Curtis and Madsen, *Books of Chronicles*, 522; Israel W. Slotki, *Chronicles* (London: Soncino, 1952), 343. Alternatively, Rabbi David Kimhi suggested that at the age of eight Jehoiachin was chosen as the king's successor while at eighteen he assumed the throne, *Commentary of Rabbi David Kimhi to Chronicles*, 282.

account of Nebuchadnezzar's siege; the detailed report in 2 Kgs 24:10-16, which is partially corroborated in Jer 24:1, is reduced in Chronicles to one sentence stating the removal of the king and temple vessels to Babylon. These alterations are illustrated below.

Table 5.4: Comparison of the Reign of Jehoiachin

2 Kgs 24:8-17

2 Chr 36:9-10

<p>בן־שְׁמוֹנֶה שָׁנִים יְהוֹיָכִן בְּמָלְכוֹ וּשְׁלֹשָׁה חֳדָשִׁים וַעֲשָׂרַת יָמִים מָלַךְ בִּירוּשָׁלַם 8) Jehoiachin was eighteen years old when he became king, and he reigned three months in Jerusalem. וְשֵׁם אִמּוֹ נְחֻשְׁתָּא בַת־אֶלְנָתָן מִירוּשָׁלַם: His mother's name was Nehushta the daughter of Elnathan of Jerusalem.</p>	<p>בן־שְׁמוֹנֶה שָׁנִים יְהוֹיָכִין בְּמָלְכוֹ וּשְׁלֹשָׁה חֳדָשִׁים וַעֲשָׂרַת יָמִים מָלַךְ בִּירוּשָׁלַם 9) Jehoiachin was eight years old when he became king, and he reigned three months and ten days in Jerusalem.</p>
<p>וַיַּעַשׂ הָרַע בְּעֵינֵי יְהוָה 9) He did what was evil in the sight of the LORD, כָּכָל אֲשֶׁר־עָשָׂה אָבִיו: according to all that his father had done.</p>	<p>וַיַּעַשׂ הָרַע בְּעֵינֵי יְהוָה: He did what was evil in the sight of the LORD.</p>
<p>בָּעֵת הַהִיא עָלָה עֲבָדֵי נְבוּכַדְנֶאצַּר מֶלֶךְ־בָּבֶל יְרוּשָׁלַם 10) At that time the servants of Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon came up to Jerusalem, and the city was besieged. 11) And Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon came to the city while his servants were besieging it, 12) and Jehoiachin the king of Judah gave himself up to the king of Babylon, himself and his mother and his servants and his officials and his palace officials. The king of Babylon took him prisoner in the eighth year of his reign 13) and carried off all the treasures of the house of the LORD and the treasures of the king's house, and cut in pieces all the vessels of gold in the temple of the LORD, which Solomon king of Israel had made, as the LORD had foretold. 14) He carried away all Jerusalem and all the officials and all the mighty men of valour, 10,000 captives, and all the craftsmen and the smiths. None remained, except the poorest people of the land. 15) And he carried away Jehoiachin to Babylon. The king's mother, the king's wives, his officials, the chief men of the land he took into captivity from Jerusalem to Babylon. 16) And the king of Babylon brought captive to Babylon all the men of valour, 7,000, and the craftsmen and the metal workers, 1,000, all of them strong and fit for war.</p>	<p>וּלְחֻשׁוֹבַת הַשָּׁנָה שָׁלַח הַמֶּלֶךְ נְבוּכַדְנֶאצַּר וַיָּבֵאֵהוּ בְּבֶלְהָ עַם־כְּלֵי חַמְדַּת בֵּית־יְהוָה 10) In the spring of the year King Nebuchadnezzar sent and brought him to Babylon with the precious vessels of the house of the LORD,</p>

<p>וַיַּמְלִךְ מֶלֶךְ-בָּבֶל אֶת-מַתַּנְיָה 17) And the king of Babylon made Mattaniah king</p> <p>דָּדוֹ תַּחֲתָיו וַיַּסֵּב אֶת-שְׁמוֹ צִדְקִיָּהוּ: his uncle, in his place, and changed his name to Zedekiah.</p>	<p>וַיַּמְלִךְ אֶת-צִדְקִיָּהוּ and he made Zedekiah king</p> <p>אָחִיו עַל-יְהוּדָה וְיְרוּשָׁלַם: his brother, over Judah and Jerusalem.</p>
---	--

In contrast to the depiction in 2 Kings which portrays the events of 597 BCE as a low point in Judah's history thus far and the fulfilment of God's prophetic warnings, the Chronicistic account minimizes the acuteness of the Babylonian siege during the reign of Jehoiachin. This diminished portrayal of Judah's expulsion during Jehoiachin's reign may point to the influence of Jeremiah material on the book of Chronicles where a similar downplaying of captivity in 597 BCE is observed. In both Jeremiah and 2 Chronicles, this allows the focus of the final chapter of each book to fall on the 587 BCE deportation as the decisive culmination of God's judgment on Judah. The Chronicistic description of Jehoiachin being "sent for, שָׁלַח" likewise undercuts the portrayal of a full-scale siege by Babylon in 587 BCE.

An additional effect of the Chronicler's alteration of the account of Jehoiachin is a removal of the schematization which characterizes the portrayal of the final kings of Judah in 2 Kings and Jeremiah. In the previous chapter, it was demonstrated that 2 Kings coordinates Jehoiakim and Zedekiah, kings who rebelled, over and against Jehoiachin and Gedaliah who submitted to the conditions of exile. In Jeremiah, Zedekiah and Jehoiachin are parallel figures who are both deported to Babylon until their death. By contrast, 2 Chronicles presents the last four kings of Judah as parallel figures in 2 Chronicles. In particular, each of the final four kings is defeated by a foreign nation, according to the Chronicistic account (2 Chr 36:3, 6, 10, 17).

Accompanying this defeat in the case of the final three kings is the confiscation of temple vessels (2 Chr 36:7, 10, 18). Additional verbal overtones between the accounts of the last kings of Judah strengthen the parallel portrayal in the Chronistic account. In the account of Jehoiachin's reign, this is seen in the description of Nebuchadnezzar deporting the king, which directly echoes the description of the same event during Jehoiakim's reign. The account of Jehoiakim in 2 Chr 36:6-7 states:

עָלִיוּ עָלָה נְבוּכַדְנֶאצַּר מֶלֶךְ בָּבֶל וַיֹּאסְרֵהוּ בַּנְּחֻשְׁתִּים לְהַלִּיכֹוּ בַּבֶּלָה: וּמִכָּל בֵּית יְהוָה הָבִיֵּא
נְבוּכַדְנֶאצַּר לְבָבֶל וַיִּתְּנֵם בְּהִיכְלוֹ בַּבֶּל:

Against him came up Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon and bound him in chains to take him to Babylon. Nebuchadnezzar also carried part of the vessels of the house of the LORD to Babylon and put them in his palace in Babylon.

While of Jehoiachin it is said in 2 Chr 36:10:

וּלְתִשְׁבֹּת הַשָּׁנָה שָׁלַח הַמֶּלֶךְ נְבוּכַדְנֶאצַּר וַיְבִיֵּאוּהוּ בַּבֶּלָה עִם כָּל חֲמֻדַּת בֵּית יְהוָה

In the spring of the year King Nebuchadnezzar sent and brought him to Babylon with the precious vessels of the house of the LORD.

In both descriptions, no mention is made of Judeans being deported; this outcome is confined to the king. This reflects a drastic departure from the portrayal in 2 Kings where Jehoiakim is not described as being deported and Jehoiachin is deported along with an extensive list of Judean captives. Mention of temple vessels being confiscated, which is a further supplement in the Chronistic account, reinforces the analogous portrayal of the two kings. Finally, just as the Chronicler excludes mention of Jehoiakim's death, so too, he is silent about the details of Jehoiachin's existence after

he is deported to Babylon. Thus, no mention is made of Jehoiachin's amnesty at the hands of Evil-merodach (2 Kgs 25:27-30//Jer 52:31-34) or of his death (Jer 52:34).

The Reign of Zedekiah

This association between the last kings of Judah continues in the Chronistic account of Zedekiah. First, Zedekiah's ascension to the throne mimics that of Jehoiakim. Both kings, according to Chronicles, are appointed to the throne by foreign monarchs after the original successors have been deported. Jehoiakim is made king by Pharaoh Neco after Jehoahaz, his brother, had been carried to Egypt (2 Chr 36:4); Zedekiah is likewise made king by Nebuchadnezzar after Jehoiachin, his brother, had been carried to Babylon (2 Chr 36:10). The ascension of both figures is described in similar terms. Of Jehoiakim, 2 Chr 36:4 states:

וַיִּמְלֹךְ מֶלֶךְ-מִצְרַיִם אֶת-אֱלִיָּקִים אָחִיו עַל-יְהוּדָה וִירוּשָׁלַם

The king of Egypt made Eliakim [Jehoiakim] his brother king over Judah and Jerusalem.

Likewise, Nebuchadnezzar's appointment of Zedekiah is described in 2 Chr 36:10:

וַיִּמְלֹךְ אֶת-צִדְקִיָּהוּ אָחִיו עַל-יְהוּדָה וִירוּשָׁלַם

He made Zedekiah his brother king over Judah and Jerusalem.

In both cases, these assertions are distinct features of the Chronistic account. The identification of Jehoiachin as Zedekiah's *brother* in 2 Chr 36:10 is a departure from the record in 2 Kgs 24:17 which identifies Zedekiah as Jehoiachin's *uncle*. In the

genealogical list of 1 Chr 3:15-16 two Zedekiahs are mentioned: one (צִדְקִיָּהוּ, v. 15) is Josiah's son (i.e., Jehoiachin's uncle) and the other (צִדְקִיָּה, v. 16) is Jehoiakim's son (i.e., Jehoiachin's brother), suggesting that the designation, אָחִיו, in 2 Chr 36:10 may be the result of ambiguity in the historical records or scribal error.¹⁵ On the other hand, it may reflect the Chronicler's deliberate attempt to draw a parallel between Jehoiakim and Zedekiah. The fact that both kings replaced the prior kings after a short, three-month reign (2 Chr 36:2, 9) and reigned for eleven years (2 Chr 36:5, 11) corroborates the possibility of a schematized portrayal in Chronicles.

A feature that sets the portrayal of Zedekiah apart from the preceding kings is that, unlike Jehoahaz, Jehoiakim, and Jehoiachin who are all deported (2 Chr 36:4, 6, 10), no mention is made of Zedekiah being taken to Babylon in Chronicles, though this detail is narrated in 2 Kgs 25:7; Jer 39:7 and 52:11. On the other hand, like 2 Kgs 25:11; Jer 39:9 and 52:15, the deportation of some of the inhabitants of the city is described. It is not until the account of Zedekiah in Chronicles that the wider population of Jerusalem is affected by Babylonian captivity. This concentration of Judah's downfall during the reign of Zedekiah is analogous to the portrayal in Jer 52 which picks up the narrative of Judah's final years from 2 Kgs 23-25 with the account of Zedekiah (2 Kgs 24:18-25:21//Jer 52:1-27). A consistent element between all three accounts of Zedekiah is the introductory report which follows the typical Deuteronomistic pattern, though in the case of Chronicles, the name of the queen mother and the comparison of Zedekiah to his father have been excluded. These correspondences are depicted in the following diagram.

¹⁵ Both the LXX and BHS attempt to harmonize this discrepancy between 2 Chr 36:10 and 2 Kgs 24:17 with the proposed reading: "his father's brother."

Table 5.5: Comparison of the Reign of Zedekiah

2 Kgs 24:18-20	Jer 52:1-3	2 Chr 36:11-13
<p>בְּנֵ-עָשָׂרִים וָאֶחָת שָׁנָה צָדְקִיָּהוּ בְּמָלְכוֹ וָאֶחָת עָשָׂרָה שָׁנָה מָלָךְ בִּירוּשָׁלַם 18) Zedekiah was twenty-one years old when he became king, and he reigned eleven years in Jerusalem. וְשֵׁם אִמּוֹ חַמְיֻטַּל בַּת-יִרְמְיָהוּ מְלִבְנָה: <i>His mother's name was Hamutal the daughter of Jeremiah of Libnah.</i></p>	<p>בְּנֵ-עָשָׂרִים וָאֶחָת שָׁנָה צָדְקִיָּהוּ בְּמָלְכוֹ וָאֶחָת עָשָׂרָה שָׁנָה מָלָךְ בִּירוּשָׁלַם 1) Zedekiah was twenty-one years old when he became king, and he reigned eleven years in Jerusalem וְשֵׁם אִמּוֹ חַמְיֻטַּל בַּת-יִרְמְיָהוּ מְלִבְנָה: <i>His mother's name was Hamutal the daughter of Jeremiah of Libnah.</i></p>	<p>בְּנֵ-עָשָׂרִים וָאֶחָת שָׁנָה צָדְקִיָּהוּ בְּמָלְכוֹ וָאֶחָת עָשָׂרָה שָׁנָה מָלָךְ בִּירוּשָׁלַם: 11) Zedekiah was twenty-one years old when he became king, and he reigned eleven years in Jerusalem</p>
<p>וַיַּעַשׂ הָרַע בְּעֵינֵי יְהוָה 19) And he did what was evil in the sight of the LORD, כְּכָל אֲשֶׁר-עָשָׂה יְהוֹיָקִים <i>according to all that Jehoiakim had done.</i></p>	<p>וַיַּעַשׂ הָרַע בְּעֵינֵי יְהוָה 2) And he did what was evil in the sight of the LORD, כְּכָל אֲשֶׁר-עָשָׂה יְהוֹיָקִים <i>according to all that Jehoiakim had done.</i></p>	<p>וַיַּעַשׂ הָרַע בְּעֵינֵי יְהוָה אֱלֹהָיו 12) He did what was evil in the sight of the LORD <i>his God.</i> לֹא נִכְנַע מִלִּפְנֵי יִרְמְיָהוּ הַנָּבִיא מִפִּי יְהוָה: <i>He did not humble himself before Jeremiah the prophet who spoke from the mouth of the LORD.</i></p>
<p>כִּי עַל-אַף יְהוָה הָיְתָה בִּירוּשָׁלַם וּבִיהוּדָה עַד-הַשְׁלִיכוֹ אֹתָם מֵעַל פָּנָיו 20) For because of the anger of the LORD it came to the point in Jerusalem and in Judah that he cast them out of his presence. וַיִּמְרֹד צָדְקִיָּהוּ בְּמָלְךְ בָּבֶל: <i>And Zedekiah rebelled against the king of Babylon.</i></p>	<p>כִּי עַל-אַף יְהוָה הָיְתָה בִּירוּשָׁלַם וּבִיהוּדָה עַד-הַשְׁלִיכוֹ אוֹתָם מֵעַל פָּנָיו 3) For because of the anger of the LORD things came to the point in Jerusalem and Judah that he cast them out from his presence. וַיִּמְרֹד צָדְקִיָּהוּ בְּמָלְךְ בָּבֶל: <i>And Zedekiah rebelled against the king of Babylon.</i></p>	<p>וְגַם בְּמָלְךְ נְבוּכַדְנֶאצַּר מֶרֶד אֲשֶׁר הִשְׁבִּיעוּ בֵּאלֹהִים וַיִּקְשׁ אֶת-עַרְפוֹ וַיֵּאמֶן אֶת-לִבּוֹ מִשּׁוּב אֶל-יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל: 13) He also rebelled against king Nebuchadnezzar, who made him swear by God. He stiffened his neck and hardened his heart against turning to the LORD, the God of Israel.</p>

Verbal correspondences between Jeremiah 52:1-3 and 2 Chr 36:11-13 are probably the result of literary dependence of both books on the prior textualized version in 2 Kgs 24. However, several elements of the Chronicler's portrayal of Zedekiah's reign reveal acquaintance with the book of Jeremiah, perhaps through verbal memory of that material. This is demonstrated, first of all, in the significant plus to the introduction of Zedekiah's reign: namely, a statement in 2 Chr 36:12 about his failure to obey the words of the prophet Jeremiah. This assertion may be the Chronicler's way of alluding to several instances in the book of Jeremiah where the prophet warns Zedekiah of his impending demise at the hands of Babylon (Jer 21:3-7; 27:12-15; 32:3-5; 37:1-10; 38:14-28).¹⁶ The Chronicler expands on his description of Zedekiah's unfaithfulness with the statement, "he stiffened his neck and hardened his heart against turning to the LORD, the God of Israel, וַיִּקְשׁ אֶת־עַרְפוֹ וַיִּאֲמַן אֶת־לִבּוֹ (2 Chr 36:13b). The image of a stiffened neck is prominent in Jeremiah as a description of refusal to obey God,¹⁷ as is seen in Jer 7:26 and 17:23 which contain the repeated verdict: "They did not listen to me or incline their ear, but stiffened their neck, וַיִּקְשׁוּ אֶת־עַרְפָּם (Jer 7:26) and וְלֹא שָׁמְעוּ אֵלַי וְלֹא הָטוּ אֶת־אָזְנָם וַיִּקְשׁוּ אֶת־עַרְפָּם (Jer 17:23).¹⁸ Furthermore, Zedekiah's rebellion is described as a refusal to "turn" to the LORD. Language of "turning" or "returning" to the LORD using the word שׁוּב is especially frequent in Jeremiah (e.g. Jer 3:14, 22; 25:5; 35:15).¹⁹ The presence of additional Jeremianic

¹⁶ Isaac Kalimi also argues that this is an allusion to the writings of Jeremiah, *Reshaping* 202.

¹⁷ Jeremiah is the only book of the Latter Prophets where this phrase (יקש את־ערף) occurs: Jer 7:26; 17:23; 19:15. For other occurrences, see Chapter 3, page 121, n. 43. The image of hardening the heart (אמן את־לבב) which also appears in 2 Chr 36:13 is found elsewhere in Deut 2:30; 15:7; Ps 31:25; 2 Chr 13:7.

¹⁸ Jer 17:23 does not contain "to me, אֵלַי."

¹⁹ In his study of the word, William Holladay concludes that the use of this verbal root to describe both apostasy and repentance has its origins in Jeremiah and was passed from there to the

locutions in the Chronistic description of Babylon's devastation of Jerusalem in the following verses provide additional warrant for presuming influence from the book of Jeremiah at this point in the narrative. Before turning to an examination of Jeremianic influence in 2 Chr 36:14-20, a brief summary of the characteristic alterations in the Chronicler's portrayal of the last four kings of Judah will provide an initial glimpse into his perspective on the Babylonian exile.

Synopsis of the Chronistic Portrayal of the Last Four Kings of Judah

Recurring features of the Chronistic version include the Deuteronomistic assessment, "he did what was evil in the sight of the LORD, וַיַּעַשׂ הָרַע בְּעֵינֵי יְהוָה" for Kings Jehoiakim (2 Chr 36:5), Jehoiachin (2 Chr 36:9), and Zedekiah (2 Chr 36:12), without the subsequent Deuteronomistic comparison to their fathers. Kings Jehoahaz, Jehoiakim, and Jehoiachin are all deported (2 Chr 36:4, 6, 10) and during the reigns of Jehoiakim, Jehoiachin, and Zedekiah a portion of the temple vessels are also deported (2 Chr 36:7, 10, 18). For none of the final four kings is their death recorded by the Chronicler (cf. 2 Kgs 24:6; Jer 52:11, 34). The importance of this omission is highlighted by the fact that these are the only four kings in Chronicles whose deaths are not recorded. Finally, it has been observed that the Chronicler emphasizes the geographical location of Jerusalem throughout his account of the last four kings of Judah (2 Chr 36:1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 9, 10, 11).

Several theological emphases emerge as a result of these distinctive features of the Chronicler's depiction. First, as has already been suggested, Judah's exile under Babylon is not portrayed as the dramatic climax of the nation's history as it is in 2 Kings, instead, exile is a recurring event in Judah's experience. Second, prior to the

Deuteronomists and the other prophetic literature, *The Root sūbh in the Old Testament with Particular Reference to its Usage in Covenantal Contexts* (Leiden: 1958), 154-57.

reign of Zedekiah, only the kings are deported and not the wider community, according to the Chronistic portrayal. This feature points towards a theology of individual culpability at work in the Chronicler's handling of the material.²⁰ Further substantiating this theological point is the omission in Chronicles of Manasseh's guilt for the exile in 2 Kgs 21:11-15; 23:26-27; 24:3-4; it may also explain why the Chronicler does not compare the sinful kings to their fathers in the introductory regnal reports.²¹ As will be observed below, the Chronicler prefaces his account of the deportation of the wider community of Jerusalem with a non-synoptic commentary detailing the unfaithfulness of the inhabitants (2 Chr 36:14-16) in order to accentuate the link between communal guilt and corporate judgment of exile. Third, the non-mention of the deaths of the final four kings of Judah may relate to the Chronicler's focus on events that occur within Jerusalem. This is the explanation proposed by Sara Japhet who suggests: "Perhaps the Chronicler considered going into exile, whether to Egypt or Babylon, the end of the story. There was no need to elaborate on the fortunes of the monarch once he had been exiled – he was now no longer in Judah, but in a foreign country, and therefore outside the bounds of the narrative's sphere of

²⁰ For discussions of the theology of individual culpability in Chronicles, see: Kaufmann, *Religion of Israel*, 595-96; von Rad, *Old Testament Theology*, Vol. 1, 349-50; Raymond B. Dillard, "Reward and Punishment in Chronicles: The Theology of Immediate Retribution," *WTJ* 46 (1984): 164-72; Japhet, *Ideology of Chronicles*, 162-65; idem, *I & II Chronicles*, 1069; Kelly, *Retribution and Eschatology*; Gary Knoppers, "Treasures Won and Lost: Royal (Mis)appropriations in Kings and Chronicles," in *The Chronicler as Author: Studies in Text and Texture*, ed. M. Patrick Graham and Steven L. McKenzie, JSOTSup 263 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1999), 181-208 (205); McKenzie, *1-2 Chronicles*, 372; Kalimi, *Ancient Israelite Historian*, 154.

²¹ Isaac Kalimi and James Purvis claim with regard to the omission of the phrase "according to all that his father had done" in Jehoiachin's narrative that "the Chronicler omitted the comparison with his father probably because in Jehoiachin's short time of kingship he was not able to do *all* that his father had done. So, for example, he did not murder the prophet of God as Jehoikim his father had done (Jer 26:20-23), and he did not build his house by injustice (Jer 22:13-19)," "King Jehoiachin and the Vessels of the Lord's House in Biblical Literature," *CBQ* 56 (1994): 450, n. 5. Obviously, these points of distinction between Jehoiachin and Jehoikim do not hinder the Deuteronomistic historian from drawing a comparison between them. It seems that the comparative assessment of the kings is more of a generalization for theological purposes than a detailed inventory of the king's activity.

interest.”²² However, it cannot be said that the Chronicler expresses no interest in the outcome of these kings. The preservation of their lines in the genealogy of 1 Chr 3:17-24 testifies to this concern. Instead, the Chronicler’s omission of the deaths of these four kings is perhaps illuminated by the congruent deportation of the kings and the temple vessels in the Chronistic portrayal²³ and therefore serves a larger theological purpose relating to the Chronicler’s hope for the nation’s restoration. By focusing the reader’s attention on the deportation of the kings and the confiscation of temple vessels, a correlation between the two emerges. In the same way that the Chronicler does not portray the destruction of the temple vessels, he also refrains from specifying the deaths of the kings who were deported in order to leave open the possibility of restoration. This suggestion requires a more thorough examination of the Chronistic account of the destruction of Jerusalem and will therefore be further pursued as part of the larger discussion to follow on the nature of restoration hope put forward by the Chronicler.

The Destruction of Jerusalem

As a way of transitioning into a description of the downfall of Jerusalem, the Chronicler provides a non-synoptic commentary describing the culpability of the wider community in rejecting God’s decrees and refusing to heed the warnings of his messengers and prophets (2 Chr 36:14-16). In so doing, the Chronistic portrayal departs from Kings by underscoring that Judah’s exile was not caused by the sins of the fathers or solely by the sins of the king as the representative of the community.

²² *Ideology of Chronicles*, 371. Similarly, in her commentary on Chronicles she states, “The arena of the history of Israel is the land of Israel; whatever happens outside it is beyond the Chronicler’s purview,” *I & II Chronicles*, 1064.

²³ As Isaac Kalimi and James Purvis observe, “The Chronicler’s account may be viewed as a reduction of the story in the deuteronomistic history to its most basic elements: the deportees were reduced to the person of the king, the booty was reduced to the precious vessels of the temple,” “King Jehoiachin,” 452. See also Seitz, *Theology in Conflict*, 107-08.

Instead, guilt is attributed to the current generation and to the wider populace of Jerusalem. The Chronicler asserts:

All the officers of the priests and the people likewise were exceedingly unfaithful, following all the abominations of the nations. And they polluted the house of the LORD that he had made holy in Jerusalem. The LORD, the God of their fathers, sent persistently to them by his messengers, because he had compassion on his people and on his dwelling place. But they kept mocking the messengers of God, despising his words and scoffing at his prophets, until the wrath of the LORD rose against his people, until there was no remedy. (2 Chr 36:14-16)

Though this depiction appears to be the independent composition of the Chronicler, inserted to reinforce his theology of retribution, several details manifest his reliance on Jeremiah. The Chronicler includes in his indictment “all the officers of the priests and the people, כָּל־שָׂרֵי הַכֹּהֲנִים וְהָעָם” (2 Chr 36:14a). A similar list of people who are deserving of judgment is a repeated refrain in the book of Jeremiah. For example, Jer 32:32 describes the בְּנֵי־יְהוּדָה who fall under condemnation by listing, “their kings, their officials, their priests and their prophets, the men of Judah and the inhabitants of Jerusalem, מְלָכֵיהֶם שָׂרֵיהֶם כֹּהֲנֵיהֶם וְנְבִיאֵיהֶם וְאִישׁ יְהוּדָה וְיֹשְׁבֵי יְרוּשָׁלַם.” Parallel lists are found in Jer 2:26, 4:9; 8:1, 13:13; 29:1. The fact that 2 Kings is silent about the culpability of the שָׂרִים, כֹּהֲנִים, and הָעָם in its concluding account of Judah’s downfall (cf. 2 Kgs 24:3-4; 25:20) suggests that Jeremiah’s more comprehensive portrayal of communal guilt has influenced the Chronicler’s account. The impact of Jeremiah literature on this element of the Chronistic presentation is fortified by the assertion that the officers, priests, and people are deserving of judgment because, “they polluted the house of the LORD, וַיִּטְמְאוּ אֶת־בֵּית יְהוָה” (2 Chr 36:14b). Language of polluting

(טמא) God's house resembles Jeremiah's reason for declaring the community guilty.²⁴

In the passage cited above, the prophet's oracle goes on to declare, "They set up their abominations in the house that is called by my name, to defile it, לְטַמְּאוּ" (Jer 32:34).

An exact parallel to this statement is found in Jer 7:30.²⁵

The Chronicler emphasizes that in response to Judah's unfaithfulness, "The LORD, the God of their fathers, sent persistently to them by his messengers, וְשָׁלַח יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵי אֲבוֹתֵיהֶם עֲלֵיהֶם בְּיַד מְלָאכָיו הַשָּׁפָם וְשָׁלוּחַ" (2 Chr 36:15). Designation of prophets as "messengers" is attested in post-exilic prophetic literature (Isa 42:19; Hag 1:13; Zech 1:11-12; 3:1-6; 12:8; Mal 2:7; 3:1).²⁶ Though Jeremiah favours the term "my servants the prophets," this verbal and syntactical construction in 2 Chr 36:15 which depicts God "sending persistently" (שָׁלַח with the prophet as the direct object + הַשָּׁפָם וְשָׁלוּחַ) is found elsewhere only in the book of Jeremiah and its frequency in that context marks it as a distinctively Jeremianic idiom.

"I have persistently sent all my servants the prophets to them, day after day, וְאֶשְׁלַח אֲלֵיכֶם אֶת-כָּל-עֲבָדֵי הַנְּבִיאִים יוֹם הַשָּׁפָם וְשָׁלַח" (Jer 7:25).

"The LORD persistently sent to you all his servants the prophets, וְשָׁלַח יְהוָה אֲלֵיכֶם אֶת-כָּל-עֲבָדָיו הַנְּבִיאִים הַשָּׁפָם וְשָׁלַח" (Jer 25:4).

"Listen to the words of my servants the prophets whom I am sending to you persistently, וְשָׁלַח יְהוָה אֲלֵיכֶם וְהַשָּׁפָם וְשָׁלַח" (Jer 26:5).

²⁴ McKenzie, *1-2 Chronicles*, 370.

²⁵ Elsewhere, טמא is used in conjunction with בֵּית as a reference to the temple only in Ezek 9:7, but in that context it is God's appointed executioners who are defiling the temple at his command, whereas both Jeremiah and Chronicles use the expression as a condemnation against the inhabitants of Jerusalem.

²⁶ Schniedewind, *Word of God in Transition*, 31-79.

“They did not pay attention to my words, declares the LORD, that I persistently sent to you by my servants the prophets, **לֹא־שָׁמְעוּ אֶל־דְּבָרֵי נְאֻם־יְהוָה**, **וְאֲשֶׁר שְׁלַחְתִּי אֲלֵיהֶם אֶת־עֲבָדֵי הַנְּבִיאִים הַשְּׂכֵם וְשִׁלַּח**” (Jer 29:19).

“I have sent to you all my servants the prophets, sending them persistently, **וְאֲשִׁלַּח אֲלֵיכֶם אֶת־כָּל־עֲבָדֵי הַנְּבִיאִים הַשְּׂכִים וְשִׁלַּח**” (Jer 35:15; 44:4).

In response to God’s attempts to compel Judah back to himself, the Chronicler states that the people, “kept mocking the messengers of God, despising his words and scoffing at his prophets, **וּמִתְעַתְּעִים בְּנִבְאָיו**” (2 Chr 36:16). Though this particular expression is unique to Chronicles,²⁷ such behaviour towards God’s **דְּבָרִים** and **נְבִיאִים** is depicted in Jeremiah. For example, Jer 5:11-13 gives the following description:

For the house of Israel and the house of Judah have been utterly treacherous to me, declares the LORD. They have spoken falsely of the LORD and have said, “He will do nothing; no disaster will come upon us, nor shall we see sword or famine. The prophets [**הַנְּבִיאִים**] will become wind; the word [**הַדְּבָר**] is not in them. Thus shall it be done to them!”

A more explicit link to Jeremiah is seen in the Chronicler’s assertion that this obstinacy escalated, “until there was no remedy, **עַד־לֹאִין מְרַפָּא**” (2 Chr 36:16). Use of the word **מְרַפָּא** (healing, remedy) with **אֵין** to describe the absence of relief from God’s wrath is a characteristic expression in Jeremiah.²⁸ For example, Jer 14:19 asserts, “there is no healing for us, **וְאֵין לָנוּ מְרַפָּא**.” Similarly, the Chronicist assertion that “the

²⁷ the roots **לעב** and **תעע** in the Hitpalpel stem do not occur elsewhere in the Hebrew Bible.

²⁸ The expression occurs almost exclusively in Jeremiah and Chronicles: Jer 8:15; 14:19; 2 Chr 21:18; Prov 6:15; 29:1. See also the related forms of **אֵין** + **רפא** in Jer 8:22; 19:11; 30:13, 17. 15:18; 30:13; Mal 4:2; 2 Chr 21:18; 36:16.

wrath of the LORD rose against his people, **עָלוֹת חֲמַת־יְהוָה בָּעַמּוֹ** (2 Chr 36:16) carries the stamp of prophetic idiom. The word **חָמָה** is used sixteen times in Jeremiah to express God's wrath against his people (Jer 4:4; 6:11; 7:20; 10:25; 18:20; 21:5, 12; 23:19; 25:15; 30:23; 32:31, 37; 33:5; 36:7; 42:18; 44:6).²⁹

Two aspects of Judah's downfall provide focal points for the Chronicler's retelling of the Babylonian siege in 2 Chr 36:17-20: the fate of the city of Jerusalem and its inhabitants and the fate of the temple and its vessels. Using an inverse parallel structure, the Chronicler concisely describes the destruction of the city:

- A) thorough slaughter of the inhabitants (2 Chr 36:17)
- B) deportation of the temple vessels and palace treasures to Babylon (2 Chr 36:18)
- B') total destruction of the temple, city, and remaining vessels by fire (2 Chr 36:19)
- A') deportation of the remaining inhabitants to Babylon (2 Chr 36:20).³⁰

The Chronistic account of Jerusalem's demise in 2 Chr 36:17-20 is as follows:

Therefore he brought up against them the king of the Chaldeans, who killed their young men with the sword in the house of their sanctuary and had no compassion on young man or virgin, old man or aged. He gave them all into his hand. And all the vessels of the house of God, great and small, and the treasures of the house of the LORD, and the treasures of the king and of his princes, all these he brought to Babylon. And they burned the house of God and broke down the wall of Jerusalem and burned all its palaces with fire and destroyed all its precious vessels. He took into exile in Babylon those who had

²⁹ The word occurs frequently in several of the books of the Latter Prophets, including twenty-nine times in Ezekiel and thirteen times in Isaiah. Thus, the Chronicler's use of it in 2 Chr 36:16 (as well as in 2 Chr 12:7; 28:9; 34:21, 25) may be attributed to the influence of the wider prophetic corpus rather than the book of Jeremiah specifically.

³⁰ The seeming contradiction between the all-inclusive slaughter in 2 Chr 36:17 and the mention of some escaping from the sword in 2 Chr 36:20 is alleviated by the observation that the former occurred "in the house of their sanctuary." The massacre in the temple is not recorded in 2 Kgs 25 or Jer 52 and seems to correspond to Ezekiel's vision of the destruction of Jerusalem in which the executioners of the city are told to "kill old men outright, young men and maidens, little children and women...And begin at my sanctuary" (Ezek 9:6).

escaped from the sword and they became servants to him and to his sons until the establishment of the kingdom of Persia.

The Chronistic summary of the attack by the Chaldeans agrees with several features of the description of the assault in 2 Kgs 25 and Jer 52, suggesting that the Chronicler has condensed those prior written traditions to compose this section of his narrative. Similar details characterize each account, including a report of the vessels which were plundered from the temple (2 Kgs 25:13-17; Jer 52:17-23; 2 Chr 36:18), an account of the temple, palace, and city being burned (2 Kgs 25:9-10; Jer 39:8; 52:13-14; 2 Chr 36:19),³¹ and a statement about the remaining inhabitants being deported to Babylon (2 Kgs 25:11; Jer 39:9; 52:15; 2 Chr 36:20).³²

³¹ These verses reflect a degree of verbal and structural similarity, though the Chronistic version is abbreviated and describes the breaking down of the wall of Jerusalem in between the reports of the burning of the temple and palaces: "And they burned the house of God and broke down the wall of Jerusalem and burned all its palaces with fire, וַיִּשְׂרְפוּ אֶת־בֵּית הָאֱלֹהִים וַיִּנְתְּצוּ אֶת חֹמַת יְרוּשָׁלַם (2 Chr 36:19); "And he burned down the house of the LORD, and the king's house and all the houses of Jerusalem; every great house he burned down...and broke down all the walls around Jerusalem, וַיִּשְׂרַף אֶת־בֵּית־יְהוָה וְאֶת־בֵּית הַמֶּלֶךְ וְאֶת כָּל־בְּתֵי יְרוּשָׁלַם וְאֶת־כָּל־בֵּית הַגָּדוֹל שָׂרָף בָּאֵשׁ; וַיִּשְׂרַף אֶת־כָּל־חֲמוֹת יְרוּשָׁלַם סָבִיב נִתְּצוּ (2 Kgs 25:9-10a/Jer 52:13-14a).

³² The Chronicler tends to limit the geographical scope of his portrayal to the city of Jerusalem (2 Chr 36:14, 19). Rudolph, *Chronikbücher*, 337; Thomas Willi, *Juda-Jehud-Israel. Studien zum Selbstverständnis des Judentums in persischer Zeit*, FAT 12 (Tübingen: Mohr-Siebeck, 1995), 22-23; McKenzie, *1-2 Chronicles*, 371; Sara Japhet, "Exile and Restoration in the Book of Chronicles," in *From the Rivers of Babylon to the Highlands of Judah: Collected Studies on the Restoration Period* (Winona Lake, Indiana: Eisenbrauns, 2006), 331-41 (338); Jonker, "Exile as Sabbath Rest," 223-24. Therefore, the depiction of a comprehensive massacre and exile does not contradict the possibility that the rural areas of Judah were inhabited during the exile, as confirmed by archaeological data and other biblical records: 2 Kgs 25:12/Jer 52:16 indicate that some of the poorest of the land were left to be plowmen and vinedressers; allusions in Lamentations to living in Judah under foreign rule suggest a Palestinian population during the exile (Lam 5:2, 4, 5, 11-13); and Neh 1:2 speaks of an envoy from Judah consisting of "Jews who escaped, who had survived the exile." For discussion about the habitation of Judah during the exile, see Enno Janssen, *Juda in der Exilszeit: Ein Beitrag zur Frage der Entstehung des Judentums*, FRLANT 69 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1956), 24-56; Ackroyd, *Exile and Restoration*, 20-31; Hans M. Barstad, *The Myth of the Empty Land: A Study in the History and Archaeology of Judah during the "Exilic" Period* (Oslo: Scandinavian University Press, 1996); Sara Japhet, "People and Land in the Restoration Period," in *From the Rivers of Babylon*, 96-116. This portrait of an empty *Jerusalem* in Chronicles may in fact be historically accurate. Lester Grabbe confirms, based on archaeological data, that "although this has been debated, Jerusalem was apparently uninhabited through much of the sixth century, perhaps as a deliberate Babylonian policy," *A History of the Jews and Judaism in the Second Temple Period. Volume 1. Yehud: A History of the Persian Province of Judah* (London; New York: T & T Clark, 2004), 28.

In addition to these correspondences in the reporting of the devastation of Jerusalem and the deportation of the inhabitants, the Chronicler also alludes to Jeremianic prophecies of *restoration*. In particular, the Chronistic statement that “they became servants to him [the king of Babylon] and to his sons until the establishment of the kingdom of Persia, וַיְהִי-לֹוּ וּלְבָנָיו לְעֲבָדִים עַד-מֶלֶךְ מַלְכוּת פָּרְס (2 Chr 36:20b) echoes an oracle in Jeremiah which declares: “All the nations shall serve him [the king of Babylon] and his son and his grandson, until the time of his own land comes, וְעָבְדוּ אֹתוֹ כָּל-הַגּוֹיִם וְאֶת-בָּנָיו וְאֶת-בְּנֵי-בָנָיו עַד בֹּא-עֵת אֶרְצוֹ” (Jer 27:7). With this allusion, the Chronicler points the reader’s attention toward the restoration from exile described by Jeremiah.

The Chronicler continues to focus on Jeremiah’s prophecies of restoration in the closing verses of his account, 2 Chr 36:21-23, which contain a series of thematic allusions to the book of Jeremiah. As a result of this interweaving of themes from Jeremiah, the Chronicler’s portrayal of the nation’s destruction is infused with hope for restoration. These allusions include the representation of the temple vessels as symbols of Judah’s preservation through exile, the motif of a seventy-year exile which places temporal boundaries on the nation’s captivity, the depiction of exile as a Sabbath rest which emphasizes the positive effects of the land’s desolation, and the portrayal of Cyrus as the agent through whom God brings Judah’s exile to an end. The Chronicler’s incorporation of these themes demonstrates his careful handling of Jeremianic traditions and his compositional sophistication. We now turn our attention to the correspondence between Chronicles and Jeremiah in relation to each of these themes.

Thematic Correspondences between Jeremiah and 2 Chr 36

The Preservation of the Temple Vessels

Scholars have noted that the welfare of the temple treasures is a consistent theme throughout Chronicles, indicating its importance as a symbol of continuity between the pre- and post-exilic communities.³³ Chronicles includes several non-synoptic passages detailing addition and purification of temple vessels (2 Chr 15:18; 24:14; 29:18-19) as well as their removal from the temple (2 Chr 25:24; 28:24). At the same time, Chronicles omits descriptions from its antecedent source of the *total destruction* of the temple vessels. Second Kgs 24:13 indicates that under Jehoiachin, Nebuchadnezzar not only “carried off all the treasures of the house of the LORD” but also “cut in pieces all the vessels of gold in the temple of the LORD.” Similarly, 2 Kgs 25:13-15//Jer 52:17-19 describe the destruction of the vessels in the temple for the purpose of salvaging the pure bronze, silver, and gold. By omitting such details, the Chronicler implies that the temple vessels *remained intact* in Babylon for the duration of the exile. In fact, 2 Chr 36:7 even states that they were stored in the king’s palace. This interest in the preservation of the temple vessels may also account for the Chronicler’s repositioning of the description of the temple being burned. Whereas 2 Kings and Jeremiah describe the burning of the temple (2 Kgs 25:9//Jer 52:13) *before* the plundering of the temple vessels (2 Kgs 25:13-15//Jer 52:17-19), Chronicles reverses the order of the events. With regard to “all the vessels of the house of God, great and small, and the treasures of the house of the LORD,” the Chronicler asserts, “all these he brought to Babylon” (2 Chr 36:18). It is only after the removal of all the temple vessels to Babylon that the king of the Chaldeans proceeds to burn the temple

³³ Peter Ackroyd, "The Temple Vessels - a Continuity Theme," in *Studies in the Religious Tradition*, 46-60; Kalimi and Purvis, "King Jehoiachin," 449-57; Gary Knoppers, "'Yhwh Is Not with Israel': Alliances as a Topos in Chronicles," *CBQ* 58 (1996): 601-26; idem, "Treasures Won and Lost," 181-208.

(2 Chr 36:19). The purpose of this portrayal seems to be to offer hope for recovery of Judah's national identity based on the fate of the temple vessels. As Knoppers says, "The Davidic-Solomonic temple is razed, but the Davidic-Solomonic legacy does not end with the destruction of this shrine. It continues in the deported temple vessels and furnishings."³⁴

Though the final chapter of Jeremiah duplicates the account in 2 Kings 24-25 with regard to the destruction of the temple vessels, elsewhere in Jeremiah, expectation of the preservation of the temple vessels is expressed.³⁵ Jeremiah affirms the symbolic significance of the temple vessels as emblems of the nation's restoration by promising that they will be returned to Jerusalem at the end of the exile. He states:

Concerning the vessels that are left in the house of the LORD, in the house of the king of Judah, and in Jerusalem: They shall be carried to Babylon and remain there until the day when I visit [פִקְדִי] them, declares the LORD. Then I will bring them back and restore them to this place, הָיָה אֱלֹהֵימָקוֹם הַזֶּה. (Jer 27:21b-22)³⁶

Then in the letter that Jeremiah sends to the exiles in Babylon these same descriptions are used to depict the return of the exiles: "I will visit [אֶפְקֹד] you, and I will fulfil to you my promise and bring you back to this place, הָיָה אֱלֹהֵימָקוֹם הַזֶּה אֶתְכֶם" (Jer

³⁴ Knoppers, "Treasures Won and Lost," 209.

³⁵ Isaac Kalimi and James Purvis contend that the Chronicler is harmonizing the contrasting accounts of the temple vessels in Jer 27-28 and 2 Kgs 24 for purposes of presenting an accurate historical account: "As a historian, the Chronicler chose the tradition in Jeremiah, but at the same time he did not completely ignore Kings...the Chronicler combined the two sources he had in front of him." Kalimi and Purvis, "King Jehoiachin," 452-53. While the Chronicler may have been motivated by historical accuracy, I suggest that the portrayal of the temple vessels in 2 Chr 36 is primarily theological rather than historical, based on the symbolic significance of the vessels as an emblem of the preservation of the exiles, similar to that seen in Jer 27-28.

³⁶ The phrases "and remain there until the day when I visit them, אֶתְכֶם יוֹם פִקְדִי אֶתְכֶם" and "then I will bring them back and restore them to this place, הָיָה אֱלֹהֵימָקוֹם הַזֶּה אֶתְכֶם" (Jer 27:22) are preserved in the MT but not in the LXX. The shorter form is probably a later attempt to harmonize Jeremiah's oracle with the portrayal of the destruction of the temple vessels in Jer 52:17-19. Cf. Rudolph, *Jeremiah*, 177; Kalimi and Purvis, "King Jehoiachin," 454-55.

29:10). Jeremiah depicts a parallel restoration for the temple vessels and the exiles in Babylon. The Chronistic portrayal of the temple vessels being preserved in Babylon for the duration of the exile both validates Jeremiah's prophecy in Jer 27:21-22 and summons hope for the corresponding survival of the exiles. By emphasizing the preservation of the temple vessels for the duration of the exile, the Chronicler, drawing on Jeremiah's analogous oracles in Jer 27:21-22 and 29:10, implies that there is a future beyond exile for the deportees as well.

The Seventy Years of Exile

A second thematic allusion to Jeremiah which highlights hope for the nation's restoration is the Chronistic portrayal of the exile as seventy years in duration. The Chronicler asserts that the Judeans were taken into exile in Babylon, "to fulfil the word of the LORD by the mouth of Jeremiah, until the land had enjoyed its Sabbaths. All the days that it lay desolate it kept Sabbath, to fulfil seventy years, לְמִלְאוֹת דְּבַר־יְהוָה בְּפִי יִרְמְיָהוּ עַד־רִצְתָּהּ הָאָרֶץ אֶת־שַׁבְּתוֹתֶיהָ כָּל־יְמֵי הַשָּׁמָה שְׁבַתָּה לְמִלְאוֹת שְׁבַעִים מִלְאוֹת שְׁבַעִים" (2 Chr 36:21). Description of the exile as "fulfilling seventy years, שְׁנָה" (2 Chr 36:21). Description of the exile as "fulfilling seventy years, שְׁנָה" is an undeniable allusion to prophecies in Jeremiah³⁷ where it is stated:

This whole land shall become a ruin and a waste, and these nations shall serve the king of Babylon seventy years [שְׁבַעִים שָׁנָה]. Then after seventy years are completed [כְּמִלְאוֹת שְׁבַעִים שָׁנָה], I will punish the king of Babylon and that

³⁷ Rudolph, *Chronikbücher*, 337-38; Williamson, *1 and 2 Chronicles*, 417-18; Japhet, *I & II Chronicles*, 1076; Tuell, *First and Second Chronicles*, 245; McKenzie, *1-2 Chronicles*, 371. Other biblical references to a seventy-year exile include Zech 1:12; 7:5 and Dan 9:2, 24-27 which are almost certainly dependant on Jeremiah. The 70-year motif with regard to Tyre in Isa 23:15-18 is probably independent of the Jeremiah tradition. Avigdor Orr, "The Seventy Years of Babylon," *VT* 6 (1956), 304-06.

nation, the land of the Chaldeans, for their iniquity, declares the LORD. (Jer 25:11-12)

For thus says the LORD: When seventy years are completed [מֵלֵאָת...שִׁבְעִים שָׁנָה] for Babylon, I will visit you, and I will fulfil to you my promise and bring you back to this place. (Jer 29:10)

It is a matter of scholarly debate what the Chronicler conceived of as the beginning and ending of the exile and whether the number seventy is intended as a precise, literal measurement or as a general or figural indicator.³⁸ The period from the destruction of Judah in 586 BCE until the initial return from Babylonian captivity in 538 BCE is less than fifty years. Therefore, some have suggested that the number is a metaphorical reference to the typical lifespan of a person (e.g., Ps 90:10) or to the emergence of three generations; others contend that it is an approximate reference to the period from the Babylonian victory at Carchemish in 605/4 BCE until the edict of Cyrus in 538 BCE. Alternatively, seventy years may be an exact reference to the period from Josiah's death in 609/8 BCE to the edict of Cyrus in 538 BCE or an exact reference to the period from the final collapse of Jerusalem in 586 BCE to the dedication of the new temple in 516 BCE. Within the context of Chronicles where Judah's captivity is portrayed as a single event during the reign of Zedekiah (2 Chr 36:17-20) and is followed by reference to Cyrus's rebuilding of the temple in 2 Chr 36:22-23, the latter proposal is an attractive option. However, more important than the precise chronology of the seventy years for Chronicles is the conceptual and

³⁸ For discussions, see Orr, "Seventy Years," 306; Peter Ackroyd, "Two Old Testament Historical Problems of the Early Persian Period," *JNES* 17, no. 1 (1958): 13-27 (24-27); R. Borger, "An Additional Remark on P. R. Ackroyd, *JNES*, XVII, 23-27," *JNES* 18, no. 1 (1959): 74; Williamson, *1 and 2 Chronicles*, 418; Gordon McConville, *1 & II Chronicles*, The Daily Study Bible Series (Louisville, Kentucky: Westminster John Knox Press, 1984), 270; Dillard, *2 Chronicles*, 301; Johnstone, *1 and 2 Chronicles*, Vol. 2, 260; Kalimi, *Ancient Israelite Historian*, 58-59. For an alternative view that the number refers to an Esarhaddon inscription, see Mark Leuchter, "Jeremiah's 70-Year Prophecy and the *שבך/לב קמי* *Atbash* Codes," *Bib* 85 (2004): 503-22; idem, *Polemics of Exile*, 47-8.

theological significance it carries as an indication that the duration of the exile is limited to a specified, pre-ordained period articulated beforehand by the prophet Jeremiah. By setting temporal boundaries on the duration of the exile, the Chronicler emphasizes that Judah's term of service has ended. No lingering effects of the nation's captivity cast their shadow over the present or the future.³⁹

The Exile as a Sabbath Rest

Not only does the Chronicler portray the exile as a fore-ordained component of God's intentions for Judah, he presents it as a positive event in the nation's history.⁴⁰ This is achieved by incorporating the concept of exile as a Sabbath rest. Here again, the Chronicler is influenced by Jeremianic themes, though, in this case, more indirectly. The book of Jeremiah does not itself speak of exile as a Sabbath rest; for this concept, one must turn to Leviticus where exile and Sabbath are combined:

I will scatter you among the nations, and I will unsheathe the sword after you [וְהִרִיקְתִּי אַחֲרֵיכֶם חֶרֶב], and your land shall be a desolation [וְהָיְתָה אֶרְצְכֶם שְׁמָמָה], and your cities shall be a waste [וְעָרֵיכֶם יְהִיוּ חֲרָבָה]. Then the land shall enjoy its Sabbaths as long as it lies desolate [אֲזַי תִּרְצָה הָאָרֶץ אֶת־שַׁבְּתֹתֶיהָ כָּל יְמֵי הַשְׁמָה], while you are in your enemies' land [וְאַתֶּם בְּאֶרֶץ אֹיְבֵיכֶם]; then the land shall rest, and enjoy its Sabbaths [אֲזַי תִּשְׁבֹּת הָאָרֶץ וְהָרְצָת אֶת־שַׁבְּתֹתֶיהָ]. As long as it lies desolate it shall have rest [כָּל־יְמֵי הַשְׁמָה תִּשְׁבֹּת], the rest that it did not have on your Sabbaths when you were dwelling in it. (Lev 26:33-35)

But the land shall be abandoned by them and enjoy its Sabbaths while it lies desolate without them [וְהָאָרֶץ תַּעֲזֹב מֵהֶם וְתִרְץ אֶת־שַׁבְּתֹתֶיהָ בְּהִשְׁמָה מֵהֶם], and they shall make amends [יִרְצוּ] for their iniquity, because they spurned my rules and their soul abhorred my statutes. (Lev 26:43)

³⁹ Louis Jonker expresses a similar view when he states, "For the Chronicler the Exile is a past event that needs no retelling," "Exile as Sabbath," 225.

⁴⁰ Dillard, *2 Chronicles*, 301-302; Tuell, *First and Second Chronicles*, 245-46; McKenzie, *1-2 Chronicles*, 370-71; Jonker, "Exile as Sabbath," 222-27.

Several elements from this description in Leviticus are incorporated into the Chronic portrayal of exile. Though not a strong verbal parallel, the Chronicler states that the king of Babylon, “took into exile in Babylon those who had escaped from the sword, וַיִּגָּל חֲשָׁאֲרִית מִן־הַחֶרֶב אֶל־בָּבֶל (2 Chr 36:20a) which corresponds to the description in Leviticus of God “unsheathing the sword, וַהֲרִיקְתִּי...חֶרֶב (Lev 26:33) and of the Israelites being “in your enemies’ land, בְּאֶרֶץ אֹיְבֵיכֶם (Lev 26:34). Stronger verbal links are seen in the Chronicler’s assertion that exile continued “until the land had enjoyed its Sabbaths. All the days that it lay desolate it kept Sabbath, to fulfil seventy years, עַד־רָצְתָה הָאָרֶץ אֶת־שַׁבְּתוֹתֶיהָ כָּל־יְמֵי הַשָּׁמָה שָׁבְתָה לְמַלְאוֹת שַׁבָּעִים שָׁנָה (2 Chr 36:21). Here, emphasis in both passages on “the land, הָאָרֶץ” which is described as “desolate, הַשָּׁמָה” “all the days, כָּל־יְמֵי” being given the opportunity to “enjoy its Sabbaths, רָצָה + שַׁבְּתוֹתֶיהָ”⁴¹ displays the linguistic and thematic dependence between the two passages.

At the same time, Jeremiah’s prophecy of a seventy-year exile asserts that, “This whole land shall become a ruin and a waste, וְהָיְתָה כָּל־הָאָרֶץ הַזֹּאת לְחָרָבָה לְשָׁמָה (Jer 25:11a; see also Jer 18:16; 25:18). The clear echo between this description and the statement in Lev 26:33b that, “your land shall be a desolation, and your cities shall be a waste, וְהָיְתָה אֶרְצְכֶם שָׁמָמָה וְעָרֵיכֶם יְהִיוּ חָרָבָה” suggests the intermediary influence of Jeremiah.⁴² The Chronicler seems to conflate Jeremiah’s description of a seventy-

⁴¹ As these verses illustrate, the root רָצָה can mean “to make amends” in the sense of punishment and atonement but also to “to enjoy.” Ackroyd, *Exile and Restoration*, 241-42. The Chronicler’s use of the verb seems to carry both connotations: the exile does not only atone for sin but also provides a positive respite in which regeneration occurs.

⁴² Jonker, “Exile as Sabbath,” 220-21.

year exile with the Levitical description of exile as a Sabbath rest through the mediating element of the land lying desolate. The Chronicler's allusion to these passages in Jeremiah and Leviticus evokes the whole tradition, both the foreshadowing of desolation and the promise of restoration. Immediately after asserting that the land will enjoy its Sabbaths while it lies desolate, Lev 26:44-45 assures,

Yet for all that, when they are in the land of their enemies, I will not spurn them, neither will I abhor them so as to destroy them utterly and break my covenant with them, for I am the LORD their God. But I will for their sake remember the covenant with their forefathers, whom I brought out of the land of Egypt in the sight of the nations, that I might be their God: I am the LORD.

Similarly, Jeremiah, in conjunction with his prophecy of a seventy-year exile promises that,

When seventy years are completed for Babylon, I will visit you, and I will fulfil to you my promise and bring you back to this place...I will restore your fortunes and gather you from all the nations and all the places where I have driven you, declares the LORD, and I will bring you back to the place from which I sent you into exile. (Jer 29:10, 14)⁴³

The Chronicler's allusions to Jeremiah and Leviticus illuminate his theological conception of the exile. In both Jeremiah and Leviticus, exile is presented as an interruption but not as a final end to the community. The bonds of the covenant provide continuity despite the break imposed by the exile. In Chronicles this translates into the accomplishment of a thorough purification so that the ensuing restoration can also be thorough. Sara Japhet's analysis seems correct when she states that the

⁴³ See also Jer 23:3-8; 24:5-6; 29:10-14; 32:37-44; 33:5-9.

Chronicler “views the fact of ‘desolation’ from a positive perspective, the land receiving through exile the restitution its inhabitants denied it.”⁴⁴

Cyrus as God’s Agent of Restoration

The Chronicler understands his own time as a turning point in the nation’s history: the exile is now completed and the anticipated restoration is underway. This is confirmed by the capstone of the Chronicler’s narrative: the decree of Cyrus,⁴⁵ which states,

Now in the first year of Cyrus king of Persia, that the word of the LORD by the mouth of Jeremiah might be fulfilled, the LORD stirred up the spirit of Cyrus king of Persia, so that he made proclamation throughout all his kingdom and also put it in writing: “Thus says Cyrus king of Persia, ‘The LORD, the God of heaven, has given me all the kingdoms of the earth, and he has charged me to build him a house at Jerusalem, which is in Judah. Whoever is among you of all his people, may the LORD his God be with him. Let him go up.’” (2 Chr 36:22-23)

The Chronicler states that, “the LORD stirred up the spirit of Cyrus king of Persia, הָעִיר יְהוָה אֶת־רוּחַ כּוֹרֵשׁ מֶלֶךְ־פָּרַס” (2 Chr 36:22b) and claims that this is the realization of Jeremiah’s prophecy by coupling it with the assertion, “that the word of the LORD by the mouth of Jeremiah might be fulfilled, לְכַלּוֹת דְּבַר־יְהוָה בְּפִי יִרְמְיָהוּ” (2 Chr 36:22a).

⁴⁴ Japhet, *I & II Chronicles*, 1075.

⁴⁵ It has frequently been asserted that the decree of Cyrus is a late addendum to Chronicles based on the fact that it is repeated at the beginning of Ezra. Carl Friedrich Keil and Franz Delitzsch, *Biblical Commentary on the Old Testament: the Books of the Chronicles*, trans. Andrew Harper (Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1872), 515-16; Curtis and Madsen, *Books of Chronicles*, 3, 525; Rudolph, *Chronikbücher*, iii; Williamson, *Israel*, 10; idem, *1 and 2 Chronicles*, 419; Simon J. DeVries, *1 and 2 Chronicles*, FOTL (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1989), 423; Willi, *Juda-Jehud-Israel*, 53-55; Magnar Kartveit, “2 Chronicles 36:20-23 as Literary and Theological ‘Interface,’” in *The Chronicler as Author: Studies in Text and Texture*, ed. M. Patrick Graham and Steven L. McKenzie, JSOTSup 263 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1999), 395-403; Tuell, *First and Second Chronicles*, 9, 246. Nevertheless, it has been thematically and literarily incorporated into the work. Japhet, *I & II Chronicles*, 1076; Kalimi, *Ancient Israelite Historian*, 146, n. 11. See also the persuasive arguments in favour of the authenticity of Cyrus’s decree in the original composition of Chronicles by William Riley, *King and Cultus in Chronicles: Worship and the Reinterpretation of History*, JSOTSup 160 (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1993), 149-56.

However, a precise oracle in Jeremiah foretelling this action by Cyrus is lacking. Two passages which describe the downfall of the Babylonians at the hands of another kingdom use the same word, “stir up, הָעִיר,” to depict God’s management of political powers to achieve his purposes:

For behold I am stirring up [מַעִיר] and bringing against Babylon a gathering of great nations, from the north country. (Jer 50:9a)

The LORD has stirred up the spirit [הָעִיר יְהוָה אֶת־רוּחַ] of the kings of the Medes, because his purpose concerning Babylon is to destroy it. (Jer 51:11a)

Despite this verbal overtone, the imprecision of these passages as counterparts for 2 Chr 36:22 is obvious. In the first place, the oracles speak of “a gathering of great nations from the north country, קְהַל־גּוֹיִם גְּדֹלִים מֵאַרְצֵי צָפוֹן” and “the Medes, מְדֵי” being the agents of Babylon’s downfall, whereas in Chronicles the nation in view is Persia. Second, the “stirring up” in Chronicles relates to the building of the temple and not to the destruction of Babylon, as in Jeremiah.⁴⁶ A clear prophecy predicting that Cyrus will play a role in the rebuilding of the temple is available in the book of Isaiah (Isa 44:24-45:7).⁴⁷ The Chronicler’s allusion to Cyrus as the fulfilment of prophecy in 2 Chr 36:22 bolsters the case of Part 1 of this thesis that the Chronicler was familiar with Isaianic traditions, however, it does not explain why he has attached these

⁴⁶ According to the Cyrus Cylinder, Babylon was not *destroyed* by Persia; instead it was taken over peacefully. James B. Pritchard, ed., *Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to the Old Testament*, 3rd ed. (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1969), 315b-316a. Antti Laato suggests that when Cyrus defeated Media the prophetic hopes in Jer 50-51 were shifted to Cyrus, “the new king of Media,” *The Servant of YHWH and Cyrus: A Reinterpretation of the Exilic Messianic Programme in Isaiah 40-55*, ConBOT 35 (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell International, 1992), 169-70.

⁴⁷ Cyrus is explicitly named in conjunction with the rebuilding of the temple: “[the LORD] who says of Cyrus, ‘He is my shepherd, and he shall fulfil all my purpose’; saying of Jerusalem, ‘She shall be built,’ and of the temple, ‘Your foundation shall be laid.’ Thus says the LORD to his anointed, to Cyrus,” (Isa 44:28-45:1a). Some scholars also connect Isa 41:1-7, 21-29; 42:5-9; 45:9-13; 46:8-11; and 48:12-16 to Cyrus. See the discussion by Ibid.

traditions to the prophet Jeremiah. For a solution to this question, one must turn to Jeremiah's wider vision of the nation's restoration. Correspondences between the decree of Cyrus and Jeremiah's prophetic expectation of Judah's restoration enable the Chronicler to assert that it fulfils the word of the LORD by the mouth of Jeremiah.

In addition to the restoration themes already highlighted, Jeremiah's vision of Judah's restoration includes foreign nations turning to God. Jer 30:8-9 states, "And it shall come to pass in that day, declares the LORD of hosts, that I will break his yoke from off your neck, and I will burst your bonds, and foreigners shall no more make a servant of him. But they shall serve the LORD their God and David their king, whom I will raise up for them." Consistent with this expectation, the Chronicler characterizes Cyrus as a foreigner who acknowledges the sovereignty of God. The Chronicler stresses Cyrus's foreignness by referring to him three times in 2 Chr 36:22-23 as "Cyrus king of Persia." In addition, Ehud Ben Zvi suggests that Cyrus's reference to "Jerusalem, which is in Judah" (2 Chr 36:23) reinforces the characterization of him as a non-Judahite.⁴⁸ By referring to God as "the God of heaven," and crediting him with giving him authority over "all the kingdoms of the earth" (2 Chr 36:23), Cyrus is portrayed as affirming God's sovereignty.

Jeremiah's description of the restoration after exile as a second Exodus also illuminates the Chronistic portrayal of Cyrus as a fulfilment of Jeremiah's prophecy. The prophet declares:

Therefore, behold, the days are coming, declares the LORD, when it shall no longer be said, "As the LORD lives who brought up the people of Israel out of the land of Egypt," but "As the LORD lives who brought up the people of Israel out of the north country and out of all the countries where he had driven

⁴⁸ Ehud Ben Zvi, "When the Foreign Monarch Speaks," in *The Chronicler as Author: Studies in Text and Texture*, ed. M. Patrick Graham and Steven L. McKenzie, JSOTSup 263 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1999), 209-28 (223).

them.” For I will bring them back to their own land that I gave to their fathers. (Jer 16:14-15; see also Jer 23:7-8)

Jeremiah’s claim that the return from exile will *exceed* the Exodus is confirmed in the Chronistic inclusion of Cyrus’s decree. Just as Pharaoh sent the Israelites out of the land of Egypt with provision from the Egyptians (Ex 12:31-36), so also Cyrus encourages the Israelites to leave the land of their captivity and provides for the community’s restoration. But, whereas Israel’s departure from Egypt was a flight which was allowed by Pharaoh only after much coercion, the return from Babylonian captivity was the result of the Persian king’s political policy and carried no threat of danger.⁴⁹ In this way, the action of Cyrus in Chronicles illustrates the fulfilment of Jeremiah’s prophecy.⁵⁰

Like the concluding notice of Jehoiachin’s release in 2 Kgs 25:27-30 and Jer 52:31-34, the decree of Cyrus in 2 Chr 36:22-23 hints at the well-being of the exiles in the hands of a foreign king. But by asserting that Cyrus fulfils Jeremiah’s prophecy, what is the Chronicler implying about the nature of Judah’s post-exilic experience in the Persian administration of Yehud?⁵¹ Included in the restoration programme described in the Latter Prophets are the return of the people to the land, the reunification of the tribes of Israel, the rebuilding of the temple, and the reinstatement

⁴⁹ Fishbane, *Biblical Interpretation*, 360.

⁵⁰ To be sure, this Chronistic portrayal of Cyrus as a foreign king who acknowledges God’s sovereignty and whose actions create circumstances which surpass the Exodus out of Egypt are not restricted to Jeremiah’s vision of the nation’s restoration. These elements characterize other prophetic descriptions of restoration, particularly Isa 2:2-3; 43:19-20; 52:11-12; Ezek 20; Mic 4:2-3; and Zech 8:21-22. The Chronicler’s attribution of these prophecies to Jeremiah points toward his perception of the consistency of the prophetic voices; Jeremiah functions as a metonym for the broader prophetic witness. See Walter Brueggemann, *The Theology of the Book of Jeremiah* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 181; Leuchter, *Polemics of Exile*, 189.

⁵¹ In a similar way that the notice of Jehoiachin’s release in 2 Kgs 25:27-30 provokes discussion about the nature of Israel’s future hope, the function of the concluding decree of Cyrus in Chronicles is debated. For example, Sara Japhet concludes her commentary with the assertion, “The edict of Cyrus is the beginning of a new era in the history of Israel, pointing with hope and confidence toward the future,” *I & II Chronicles*, 1077. In contrast, William Riley sees Cyrus’s decree as a decisive termination of the Davidic dynasty, *King and Cultus*, 149-56.

of the Davidic dynasty. The post-exilic reality was a far cry from this ideal. Only a portion of the community returned to the land where they existed under Persian domination without the benefits of independent governance, let alone a Davidic monarchy. It is reasonable to suppose that the Second Temple community struggled with the interpretation of the prophetic literature.⁵² Exile in Babylon confirmed the predictions of judgment, but what about the promises of salvation beyond exile? Into this situation the Chronicler adapts language, images, and themes reminiscent of literature from the Latter Prophets for inclusion into his account of Judah's history. Is this technique intended to arouse the post-exilic community's hopes for the restoration described by the Latter Prophets? Or does the incorporation of restoration language suggest that the Chronicler sees the prophetic promises as already having been accomplished in Judah's history with no more hope of future fulfillments?⁵³

Hope for Restoration in the Book of Chronicles

By ending his work with the decree of Cyrus, the Chronicler provides one inroad into an understanding of the contours of restoration which he expects for the post-exilic community. Key features of Cyrus's decree echo the Chronistic presentation of the reigns of David and Solomon. In particular, the rebuilding of the temple under Cyrus is presented in terms reminiscent of the Chronicler's portrayal of

⁵² This is the premise of several sociological studies of the Latter Prophets and post-exilic literature, such as Otto Plöger, *Theocracy and Eschatology*, trans. S. Rudman (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1968); James L. Crenshaw, *Prophetic Conflict: Its Effect Upon Israelite Religion*, BZAW 124 (Berlin, New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1971); Paul Hanson, *The Dawn of Apocalyptic* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1975); Carroll, *When Prophecy Failed*.

⁵³ A full treatment of this issue lies beyond the scope of this thesis. Scholarship on the book of Chronicles is essentially separated between "eschatological" and "non-eschatological" understandings of the work. Raymond Dillard summarizes the state of research in this way: "Scholarly opinion is divided between two extremes and a host of mediating positions: on the one hand, many find the author's messianic/eschatological expectations central to the book while others view the Chronicler as espousing the view that the purposes of God were so realized in the restoration community as to leave little if any place for eschatological expectation," 2 *Chronicles*, 2. For a thorough summary of the debate, see Kelly, *Retribution and Eschatology*, 135-55.

the construction of the first temple under David and Solomon. Cyrus's claim that God has directed him to build the temple echoes God's choice of Solomon to build the temple in 1 Chr 17:12 and 22:6-10.⁵⁴ An important feature in the construction of the first temple is the condition of rest which is required for the temple to be built. In the Chronistic presentation, David is disqualified from building the temple because his reign was not characterized by rest (1 Chr 22:8; 28:3), whereas Solomon, consistent with his name, is portrayed as a man of rest (1 Chr 22:9). This emphasis on rest provides a further clue to the Chronicler's portrayal of the exile as a Sabbath rest: it supplies the proper conditions for the rebuilding of the temple. This also provides an additional explanation for the Chronicler's emphasis on the perpetuity of the temple vessels through the exile: to stress that the second temple, no less than the first, was God's dwelling place.⁵⁵ Furthermore, Cyrus's blessing, "Whoever is among you of all his people, may the LORD his God be with him, יהוה אֱלֹהֵי עַמּוֹ" (2 Chr 36:23) calls to mind the similar benediction of David to Solomon prior to his construction of the first temple: "The LORD be with you, יהי יהוה עִמָּךְ" (1 Chr 22:16).⁵⁶

Most importantly, the resemblance between the David-Solomonic temple and the temple built by Cyrus is conveyed through the phrase "build a house." Cyrus's edict states, "The LORD, the God of heaven, has given me all the kingdoms of the earth, and he has charged me to build him a house [לְבָנוֹתֵלּוֹ בַּיִת] at Jerusalem, which is in Judah" (2 Chr 36:23). These words echo the dynastic oracle in 1 Chr 17:10

⁵⁴ *Contra* Kalimi who sees this portrayal of Solomon as "no more than a stylistic imitation of 2 Sam 7:13," *Ancient Israelite Historian*, 149, n. 17.

⁵⁵ Kalimi and Purvis, "King Jehoiachin," 455-57; Ackroyd, "Temple Vessels," 57-60. The theme of the preservation and restoration of the temple vessels as symbols of the continuity between the first and second temple is also evident in Ezra 1:7-11; 5:13-15; 6:5; 7:19; 8:25-28; Neh 10:40; 13:5, 9; Dan 1:1-2; 5:2-3, 23; 1 Esd 4:43-46, 57; 2 Esd 10:21-22; 1 Macc 1:23; 4:49; 14:15; 2 Macc 1-2; Bar 1:8-9.

⁵⁶ Note also the possible overtones here to the Immanuel oracles of Isaiah and to Hezekiah's speech in 2 Chr 32:7-8.

where the Chronistic version deviates from 2 Sam 7:11 in one respect: where 2 Sam 7:11 states, “The LORD will *make* you a house, יְהוָה יַעֲשֶׂה-לָּךְ בַּיִת,” 1 Chr 17:10 reads, “The LORD will *build* you a house, יְהוָה יִבְנֶה-לָּךְ וַיְבִיט.”⁵⁷ The three subsequent allusions to the dynastic oracle in 1 Chr 22:10 (non-synoptic), 1 Chr 28:6 (non-synoptic), and 2 Chr 6:8-10 (//1 Kgs 8:18-20) each contain the catch phrase (לְבָנוֹת + בָּיִת) to refer to the construction of the temple. The Chronicler has picked up on the wordplay surrounding the word “house” within the dynastic oracle in order to emphasize the significance of the temple as a symbol of Judah’s hope. The dynastic oracle becomes primarily a *temple* oracle in the subsequent reiterations in 1 Chr 22, 28, and 2 Chr 6. The frequent recurrence of this phrase within the narratives of David and Solomon,⁵⁸ contrasted with its absence in the narratives of the subsequent kings of Judah,⁵⁹ and its prominent reappearance in the decree of Cyrus, reinforces the parallel between the first temple and its rebuilding after the exile.

By presenting this analogy between the construction of the first temple and the second temple, and by setting both periods apart from the period of the exile, the Chronicler indicates that Yehud during the Persian era is as full of utopic potential as the Chronistic depiction of Jerusalem under David and Solomon. For the initial recipients of this composition, such a message cannot have been anything short of

⁵⁷ Martin J. Selman, *2 Chronicles*, TOTC (Leicester, England; Downers Grove, Illinois: InterVarsity Press, 1994), 551. The suggestion that the Chronicler modified the dynastic oracle in order to create a correspondence with the decree of Cyrus provides additional support for the claim that 2 Chr 36:22-23 is thoroughly incorporated into the book and is not merely a late addendum.

⁵⁸ 1 Chr 17:4, 6, 12; 22:2, 5, 6, 7, 8, 10, 19; 28:2, 6, 10; 2 Chr 2:1, 3, 4, 5, 6, 9, 12; 3:1, 3; 6:2, 5, 7, 8, 9, 10; 8:1. Also, in Solomon’s prayer at the dedication of the temple he repeatedly refers to “the house which I have built, הַבַּיִת אֲשֶׁר בָּנִיתִי” (2 Chr 6:18, 33, 34, 38) and during Josiah’s reign, mention is made of the “the house that Solomon, the son of David, king of Israel, built, בְּבֵית אֲשֶׁר בָּנָה שְׁלֹמֹה בֶן-דָּוִד, מֶלֶךְ יִשְׂרָאֵל” (2 Chr 35:3).

⁵⁹ With the exception of 2 Chr 35:3 (above), the words “build, בָּנָה” and “house, בַּיִת” occur in close proximity, but not with reference to the building of the temple: Jotham “built the upper gate of the house of the LORD” (2 Chr 27:3); Manasseh “built altars in the house of the LORD” (2 Chr 33:4).

revolutionary. Though Yehud did indeed impart an improvement over exile in Babylon, it still presented the community with circumstances which were a far cry from the high points in their past or the vision of the future presented by the Latter Prophets. The testimony of Ezra, who declares, “We are slaves” (Ezra 9:10), reflects the sentiment that life in the land under Persian governance was perceived by some members of the community as merely a continuation of the exile.⁶⁰ It is precisely this despair that the Chronicler is challenging.

With the final exhortation, “Let him go up! וַיַּעַל” the Chronicler invites the community to participate in the abundant spiritual and material blessings which have been provided for them. In order to end on this high note, the Chronicler has interrupted Cyrus’s decree mid-sentence. Ezra 1:3 continues the thought: “Let him go up to Jerusalem, which is in Judah and rebuild the house of the LORD, the God of Israel.” By excluding the last part of Cyrus’s edict, the Chronicler changes its force. Instead of encouraging the exiles to assist in the rebuilding of the temple, the decree functions more generally as a call to worship.⁶¹ “Let him go up” underscores the fact that the exiles are no longer in exile but have the opportunity to begin again. One recalls the similar usage of the root עלה in descriptions of the patriarchs’ initial entry into the land (Gen 13:1; 46:4; 50:6-7, 9; Ex 3:8; 33:1, 3; Num 14:40, 42, 44; Deut 1:24, 26, 28, 41-43). But the charge also contains overtones of Isaiah’s vision of the “latter days” when,

The mountain of the house of the LORD
shall be established as the highest of the mountains,

⁶⁰ This sense of disillusionment is also hinted at in Ezr 3:12; Neh 5:1-13; 8:1-8; 9:1-3, 36-37; 13:1-31.

⁶¹ Roddy L. Braun, “The Message of Chronicles: ‘Rally ‘Round the Temple’,” *CTM* 42 (1971): 502-14; Kelly, *Retribution and Eschatology*, 189-90; Johnstone, *1 and 2 Chronicles*, Vol. 2, 275-76.

and shall be lifted up above the hills; and all the nations shall flow to it, and many peoples shall come, and say:

“Come, let us go up [נַעֲלֶה] to the mountain of the LORD,
to the house of the God of Jacob,
that he may teach us his ways and that we may walk in his paths.”
(Isa 2:2-3)

The time of the nation’s restoration promised by the Latter Prophets is underway. Rather than waiting for different circumstances before laying hold of the restoration ideal, the Chronicler points to the spiritual benefits which are possible for his readers in the present. Rather than relegating hopes to a future or eschatological era, the Chronicler retrojects restoration descriptions of Israel back onto past history. By describing Judah’s history in terms of future-oriented prophecy, the Chronicler obscures the temporal particularity of the promises of restoration articulated by the Latter Prophets. They are no longer consigned to a future era, either this-worldly or otherwise, but are presented as possibilities for the present.⁶²

Conclusion

This analysis of the three tellings of the fall of Judah in the Hebrew Bible has demonstrated that textual dependence ties the accounts together. The version in 2 Kgs 23:30b-25:30 shows signs of literary influence from the wider book of Jeremiah while also appearing to be the antecedent compilation which was later appended in abbreviated form (2 Kgs 24:18-25:30//Jer 52:1-34) to Jeremiah as the concluding chapter. The Chronicler’s dependence on a version of the narrative from 2 Kings is primarily confirmed through the duplication of passages which appear in 2 Kgs 23:30b-24:17 but are omitted from Jer 52. Based on the extensive replication of

⁶² Steven Schweitzer describes the utopian ideology of Chronicles as promoting “a better alternative reality,” *Reading Utopia*.

passages appearing in 2 Kings, it is evident that some version of that textualized tradition was used by the Chronicler. Since the parallels between Chronicles and Jeremiah are not as lengthy or exact, it may be that the Chronicler integrated Jeremianic language and idioms based on verbal memory. Compelling indications of the Chronicler's familiarity with material from the book of Jeremiah include linguistic overtones, historical details surrounding the collapse of Jerusalem, and thematic features associated with Jeremiah's vision of the nation's restoration. The incorporation of these elements particularly in the passages which are supplementary in the Chronistic version (2 Chr 36:14-16; 2 Chr 36:22-23) illustrates the Chronicler's subtlety of allusion to other biblical literature. By affirming the prophet's validity in adumbrating the details of Judah's demise, the Chronicler cleverly conjures up hope for the corresponding legitimacy of Jeremianic prophecies describing the nation's restoration. The three-fold assertion in 2 Chr 36:20-22 that Jeremiah's prophecies have been fulfilled, combined with verbal overtones of Jeremianic oracles, are the Chronicler's way of authenticating the prophetic authority of Jeremiah in predicting the cessation of exile and subsequent restoration.

Chapter 6

CONCLUSION

In the foregoing analysis of the Hezekiah narrative and the account of the fall of Judah, I have sought to discern how the function of each passage is transformed by the contextualization of the material in three distinct literary contexts. Though the placement of these passages in 2 Kings 18-20//Isaiah 36-39 and 2 Kings 23:30b-25:30//Jeremiah 52 has been the subject of many redaction-, literary-, and text-critical studies, scant effort has been made to extend those implications to the replication of the narratives in 2 Chronicles. At the same time, focus on the literary relationship between Samuel-Kings and Chronicles has dominated Chronicles research, often at the expense of attention to the incorporation of themes and language from other biblical literature, particularly the Latter Prophets.

Exploration of the direction of influence between each of the three tellings of the story of Hezekiah and the fall of Judah has laid the foundation for pursuing an analysis of the distinct function of the material in each literary context. In the Hezekiah narrative, the presence of associative links to the wider book of Isaiah in synoptic portions of the account upholds the argument that the material was integrated in that context prior to its insertion in 2 Kings. With regard to the account of the fall

of Jerusalem, the direction of influence likely moves in the opposite direction, from 2 Kings to Jeremiah. This is supported by the structural and verbal similarity of the material to the wider book of Kings and the dissimilarity in tone, genre, and content with the book of Jeremiah. Furthermore, the probability that the immediately preceding chapters in MT Jer 46-51 have been relocated to that position at a subsequent time in the development of the corpus increases the likelihood that chapter 52, as well, was attached to the book through the transfer of that material from elsewhere, namely 2 Kings 24:18-25:30.

With regard to Chronicles, I have sought to discern whether the Chronicler was familiar with the prior versions of the Hezekiah narrative in 2 Kings and Isaiah and the account of the fall of Judah in 2 Kings and Jeremiah. The density and scope of passages in Chronicles which replicate information also found in Samuel-Kings provides strong warrant for the Chronicler's dependence on a textualized version of that material. Though the precise textual form of the Chronicler's Samuel-Kings source may have differed from the existing MT version, the fact that the overall structure and Deuteronomistic framing devices are retained in the Chronistic account indicates that the material in Samuel-Kings closely resembled the shape and content preserved in the Masoretic tradition.

Determination of the Chronicler's familiarity with the Hezekiah narrative in Isaiah and with the account of the fall of Judah in Jeremiah must rely on similarities in themes and overall narrative function because of the virtually identical literary constitution of Isa 36-39 and Jer 52 to the material in 2 Kgs 18-20 and 2 Kgs 24:18-25:30, respectively. The schematized portrayal of Ahaz and Hezekiah in 2 Chr 28 and 29-32 as illustrations of Judah's exile and restoration imitates the portrayal of these two kings in the book of Isaiah (Isa 7; 36-39) where they likewise function as symbols

of the nation's exile and restoration. In the Chronicler's version, the portrayal of Hezekiah as a figuration of Judah's return from exile is achieved primarily through the integration of images and language from Isaiah and elsewhere in the Latter Prophets which describe the nation's glorious restoration. Similarly, the account of the fall of Judah in Chronicles reflects dependence on the version of the narrative in Jer 52; both accounts concentrate Jerusalem's demise during the reign of Zedekiah, presenting it as the climactic fulfilment of the prophetic word against Judah.

Combined with the similarities in narrative function reflected in 2 Chr 29-32; 36; Isa 36-39; and Jer 52, the Chronicler's dependence on Isaiah and Jeremiah is further confirmed through the integration of language and themes from the wider context of both books. Hezekiah's speeches in 2 Chr 29:5-11; 30:6-9; and 32:7-8 contain multiple correspondences to expressions from Isaiah and other books of the Latter Prophets. The Chronicler's idealized portrayal of Hezekiah and of the events which occurred during his reign is likewise composed through the integration of language and descriptions of the nation's glorious restoration from exile prophesied by the Latter Prophets. In the account of the fall of Judah, the Chronicler exhibits his dependence on the book of Jeremiah primarily through the thrice-repeated assertion in 2 Chr 36:20-22 that these events occurred to fulfil the word of the LORD by the mouth of Jeremiah. The incorporation of restoration motifs from Jeremiah – particularly the symbolic significance of the temple vessels, the portrayal of exile as 70 years and as a Sabbath rest, and the depiction of Cyrus as God's agent who inaugurates the nation's restoration – further reveals the Chronicler's dependence on Jeremiah and other literature of the Latter Prophets.

In addition to affirming the Chronicler's familiarity with the accounts of Hezekiah and the fall of Judah in both 2 Kings and the Latter Prophets, this

investigation of 2 Chr 29-32 and 36 has provided a glimpse into the *nature* of the Chronicler's reliance on the books of Isaiah and Jeremiah. Some elements of the Chronistic portrayal which are reminiscent of expressions in the Latter Prophets may be coincidental: the effect of typical expressions which arise out of a shared culture. For example, the fact that the expression "do not be afraid and do not be dismayed, וְאַל-תִּירָא וְאַל-תִּהְיֶה חָתָח" occurs across a wide range of biblical literature (Deut 1:21; Josh 1:9; 8:1; 10:25; Isa 41:10; 51:6; Jer 30:10; 46:27; Ezek 2:6) suggests that its appearance in Chronicles (1 Chr 22:13; 28:20; 2 Chr 20:15, 17; 32:7) is attributable to the shared cultural environment which generated these compositions rather than being the result of direct literary dependence. Similarly, the idiom of having a "stiff neck" קָשָׁה + עֲרָךְ appears across a wide range of biblical literature (Ex 32:9; 33:3, 5; 34:9; Deut 9:6, 13; 10:16; 31:37; 2 Kgs 17:14; Isa 48:4; Jer 7:26; 17:23; 19:15; Prov 29:1; Neh 9:16, 17, 29; 2 Chr 30:8; 36:13), distinguishing it as a stock-in-trade expression.

More frequently, however, the Chronicler's handling of the prophetic traditions associated with Isaiah and Jeremiah is deliberate and systematic. This often takes the form of verbal overtones which are distinctive to the prophetic source texts. Rather than quoting extensive blocks of material, as is the Chronicler's tendency with Samuel-Kings, the verbal correspondences between Chronicles and the Latter Prophets consist of key words and catch phrases. At other times the influence of the Latter Prophets is evident in the Chronistic portrayal through integration of themes, motifs, and theology. For example, the passage in Isa 52:10 contains several locutions which are carried over into the Chronistic portrayal of the defeat of Sennacherib during Hezekiah's reign, including reference to God's "arm" (2 Chr 32:8), Judah's "salvation" (2 Chr 32:22), and the exhibition of these events "in the eyes of all the nations" (2 Chr 32:23). The Chronicler's assertion in 2 Chr 36:15 that God "sent

persistently” to the people of Judah is a clear echo of Jeremianic language where this expression frequently occurs (Jer 7:25; 25:4; 26:5; 29:19; 35:15; 44:4). Similarly, by designating the Babylonian captivity as a seventy year period (2 Chr 36:21), the Chronicler clearly alludes to Jeremiah’s prophecies that the exile would last seventy years (Jer 25:11-12; 29:10).

The Chronicler’s technique of integrating material from Isaiah and Jeremiah, particularly when compared to his use of Samuel-Kings, suggests that he was familiar with the literature of the Latter Prophets through verbal memory. The Chronicler was so steeped in prophetic literature that he could easily recall phrases, idioms, and theological concepts from those books for incorporation into his own composition. Furthermore, the Chronicler’s assimilation of details from across the spectrum of the Latter Prophets, rather than isolated passages or individual books, indicates that his familiarity with those traditions was comprehensive. On the other hand, the fact that the Chronicler does not directly quote extensive passages from these books, as is the case with his handling of Samuel-Kings and even the Psalms, suggests that he may have been incorporating prophetic material into his composition without having immediate access to those texts. In any case, he certainly was not copying, comparing, and harmonizing material from a Samuel-Kings textual source with textual traditions from the Latter Prophets.

These observations about the Chronicler’s dependence on the Latter Prophets and his method of integrating them into his composition have additional implications for his perception of prophecy and prophetic literature in the post-exilic era. These implications are mentioned here as possible avenues for further research related to the perceptions and significance of prophetic literature in the Second Temple era. First, based on the Chronicler’s technique of clustering allusions from different books of the

Latter Prophets into a single speech or narrative, it seems that he perceives the prophetic tradition as a unity rather than as isolated incidents and messages.¹ For example, the Chronistic speeches of Hezekiah contain clear echoes not only of Isaiah but also of Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Joel, Jonah, Micah, Zechariah, and Malachi. These verbal overtones from different prophetic sources are often combined into a single expression in the Chronistic composition. Similarly, the Chronicler states that Cyrus's role in rebuilding the temple is a fulfilment of prophecy, but he attributes that prophecy to Jeremiah when, in fact, Isaiah utters the clearest prediction that Cyrus will function as God's agent (Isa 44:28-45:1a). In this way, the Chronicler reflects his perception that the entire Latter Prophets complex functions as a coherent witness. Furthermore, by integrating language and themes from the Latter Prophets into the historical framework supplied by a version of Samuel-Kings, the historical and prophetic elements of Israel's written traditions are coordinated and unified.² In the narratives of Hezekiah and the fall of Judah, the Chronicler explicitly creates connections between the account of Judah's history as preserved in Samuel-Kings and traditions in the Latter Prophets, producing a reading of one in light of the other. The Chronicler's endeavour to foreground the inherent concord within Israel's written traditions implies a sense of Scripture's "omni-coherence" which has been emphasized throughout the foregoing examination. Moreover, this compositional technique testifies to an emerging anthology of inter-related literature which

¹ Mason, *Preaching the Tradition*, 48-49, 54 113, 137-9; Chapman, *Law and Prophets*, 219, 224, 227.

² Hugh Williamson makes a similar point with his observation that the Chronicler frequently refers to literature attributed to prophetic figures alongside, or in the place of, references to historical records (2 Chr 9:29; 12:15; 13:22; 26:22; 32:32), *1 and 2 Chronicles*, 18.

functioned for the Chronicler as an authoritative witness to Israel's theological and historical heritage.³

A second implication of the Chronicler's integration of material from the Latter Prophets addresses the ongoing discussion of the role of prophecy and prophetic traditions in the Second Temple era. Several scholars, noting the Chronicler's technique of weaving allusions from the Latter Prophets throughout his account of Judah's history, speculate that the reuse of prophetic traditions in this way is a response to the absence of fresh prophetic voices in the post-exilic community. Adam Welch deduces that, "The historian belonged to a time when prophecy was on its death-bed...Men could still read and admire the great messages which had come down from the past, but they were no longer able to prophesy."⁴ Similarly, in his investigation of the sociological response of the post-exilic community to unfulfilled prophecy, Robert Carroll claims that after the exile prophecy predicting the nation's salvation was perceived by many to have "failed," necessitating reinterpretation of the original prophetic oracles by introducing delays, adaptations, and corrections.⁵

Yet the very preservation, adaptation, and recontextualization of the prophetic literature tells another story about the reverence bestowed on it and its importance in post-exilic society. The hopes which the Latter Prophets inspired for the political and spiritual future of the nation became the very essence of the community's identity. Rex Mason, defending the authoritative status of the prophetic literature during the

³ This is akin to what several scholars describe as "canon-consciousness." Sheppard, "Canonization," 23-25; idem, "Canonical Criticism," in *ABD* (New York: Doubleday, 1992), 861-66; Brevard S. Childs, *The New Testament as Canon: An Introduction* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1985), 22; idem, *Biblical Theology of the Old and New Testaments: Theological Reflection on the Christian Bible* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1992), 70; Chapman, *Law and Prophets*, 139.

⁴ Welch, *Work of the Chronicler*, 50.

⁵ Robert P. Carroll, *When Prophecy Failed: Reactions and Responses to Failure in the Old Testament Prophetic Traditions*, (London: SCM Press, 1979).

restoration era, asks, "Can the activity of those whose words proved to be such a seed-bed for faith be described properly in terms of 'failure'?" He goes on to suggest:

Prophecy began to die, or change, after the exile, not because of its failure but because of its 'success'. The judgment of the exile was seen as confirmation of the predictions of those prophets who had not cried 'peace' when there was no peace, while the prophets of the exile showed how the 'hope of salvation' element in their preaching could be seen as applying to the time beyond the exile. For this reason we may assume that the collection of their words went on apace, such collections being regarded as more and more authoritative.⁶

The fact that the prophetic material was preserved by the ancient community alongside the later reinterpretations of that material is a further indication of its recognized authority and efficacy. Rather than altering or suppressing the earlier forms, the prior layers of prophetic expression are left intact. It is this continuing relevance of the prophetic message that makes the Chronicler's composition so effective with its integration of prophetic images and language which were familiar to the post-exilic audience.

Robert Carroll does concede that prophecy was perceived by some within the post-exilic community to have been fulfilled, particularly those responsible for the composition of Ezra-Nehemiah and Chronicles. He states,

It would be misleading to give the impression that prophecy was a complete failure and that the post-exilic community bemoaned prophecy as such....There were also beliefs that the positive vision, a people living at peace in its own homeland with temple and priesthood, had been achieved. Such beliefs took the kernel of the salvation oracles, land and community, and saw in the existence of the post-exilic community in Jerusalem the fulfilment of prophecy.⁷

⁶ Mason, "Prophets of the Restoration," 142.

⁷ Carroll, *When Prophecy Failed*, 180.

However, this dichotomy which presents prophecy as either having failed or been fulfilled does not do justice to the dynamic capacity of prophetic material to retain its relevance in multiple contexts. It is both the authority of prophetic material and its potential for multiple applications which makes it a robust ingredient in the Chronicler's account of Judah's history. His technique of retrojecting future-oriented prophecies back onto an account of the past diminishes the original temporal specificity assigned to the prophetic oracles. They are capable of being relevant for every generation rather than merely being consigned to a future date. Stephen Chapman is correct when he observes,

The prophetic oracles from the past were written and sure (e.g., 2 Chr 36:21-22); they applied not only to one situation, but to *every* situation confronting the people of God because they represented God's abiding will...it was precisely the unquestioned authority of these texts which created the possibility of their use beyond their "historical" context.⁸

Indeed, through the careful incorporation of literary and thematic material from the Latter Prophets, the Chronicler illustrates that when Israel sought God in the past, the people realized the future-oriented possibilities God had for them. By presenting Judah's history infused with prophetic images and descriptions, the Chronicler mitigates the danger of relegating restoration hopes to a future era or of spiritualizing or abstracting them so that they no longer have reference to present possibility. The Chronicler's use of prophetic traditions demonstrates that in the same way Judah's past obedience resulted in her realization of the prophetic ideal, so too the post-exilic community can lay hold of the blessings promised by the Latter Prophets through faithful obedience.

⁸ Chapman, *Law and Prophets*, 224.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Ackroyd, Peter. "Two Old Testament Historical Problems of the Early Persian Period." *JNES* 17, no. 1 (1958): 13-27.
- _____. *Exile and Restoration: A Study of Hebrew Thought of the Sixth Century B.C. OTL*. London: SCM Press, 1968.
- _____. *I & II Chronicles, Ezra, Nehemiah*. London: SCM Press, 1973.
- _____. *Studies in the Religious Tradition of the Old Testament*. London: SCM Press, 1987.
- _____. *The Chronicler in His Age*. JSOTSup 101. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1991.
- Aharoni, Yohanan. *The Archaeology of the Land of Israel: From the Prehistoric Beginnings to the End of the First Temple Period*. Philadelphia: Westminster, 1982.
- Albertz, Rainer. *Israel in Exile: The History and Literature of the Sixth Century B.C.E.* Atlanta: SBL, 2003.
- Albright, William F. "The Date and Personality of the Chronicler." *JBL* 40 (1921): 119-24.
- _____. "The Chronology of the Divided Monarchy of Israel." *BASOR* 100 (1945): 16-22.
- Allen, Leslie C. "Kerygmatic Units in 1 & 2 Chronicles." *JSOT* 41 (1988): 21-36.
- _____. "The First and Second Books of Chronicles." In *NIB* Vol. 3, ed. Leander E. Keck, et al., 297-659. Nashville: Abingdon, 1999.
- Amit, Yairah. "A New Outlook on the book of Chronicles." *Immanuel* 13 (1981): 20-29.
- _____. "The Role of Prophecy and Prophets in the Theology of the Book of Chronicles." *Beth Mikra* 93 (1983): 113-33.
- Auld, A. Graeme. *Kings Without Privilege: David and Moses in the Story of the Bible's Kings*. Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1994.
- _____. "What Was the Main Source of the Books of Chronicles?" In *The Chronicler as Author: Studies in Text and Texture*, ed. M. Patrick Graham and Steven L. McKenzie, 91-99. JSOTSup 263. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1999.

- Baltzer, Klaus. "Das Ende des Staates Juda und die Messias-Frage." In *Studien zur Theologie der alttestamentlichen Überlieferungen*, ed. Rolf Rendtorff and Klaus Koch, 33-43. Neukirchen: Neukirchener Verlag, 1961.
- _____. *Deutero-Isaiah: A Commentary on Isaiah 40-55*. Hermeneia. Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2001.
- Barnes, William Emery. "The Midrashic Element in Chronicles." *Expositor* 44, no. 4 (1896): 426-33.
- _____. "Chronicles as Targum." *ExpTim* 8 (1896-97): 316-19.
- Barnes, William Hamilton. *Studies in the Chronology of the Divided Monarchy of Israel*. HSM 48. Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1991.
- Barr, James. *Holy Scripture: Canon, Authority, Criticism*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1983.
- Barrick, Boyd W. "On the 'Removal of the "High Places"' in 1-2 Kings." *Bib* 55 (1974): 257-59.
- Barstad, Hans M. *The Myth of the Empty Land: A Study in the History and Archaeology of Judah during the "Exilic" Period*. Oslo: Scandinavian University Press, 1996.
- Barth, Hermann. *Die Jesaja-Worte in der Josiazeit: Israel und Assur als Thema einer produktiven Neuinterpretation der Jesajaüberlieferung*. WMANT 48. Neukirchen-Vlayn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1977.
- Barthes, Roland. "Theory of the Text." In *Untying the Text: A Post-Structuralist Reader*, ed. R. Young. Boston: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1981.
- Barton, John. *Oracles of God: Perceptions of Ancient Prophecy in Israel after the Exile*. London: Darton, Longman and Todd, 1986.
- Becker, Joachim. *Isaias - der Prophet und sein Buch*. SBS 30. Stuttgart, 1968.
- _____. *Messianic Expectation in the Old Testament*. Translated by David E. Green. Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1980.
- _____. *1 Chronik*. NEB 18. Würzburg: Echter Verlag, 1986.
- _____. *2 Chronik*. NEB 20. Würzburg: Echter Verlag, 1988.
- Becking, Bob. "Jehojachin's Amnesty, Salvation for Israel?" In *Pentateuchal and Deuteronomistic Studies: Papers Read at the XIIIth IOSOT Congress Leuven 1989*, ed. Christianus Brekelmans and Johan Lust, 283-93. BETL 94. Leuven: Leuven University Press & Peeters, 1990.

- _____. "Chronology: A Skeleton without Flesh? Sennacherib's Campaign as a Case-Study." In *'Like a Bird in a Cage': The Invasion of Sennacherib in 701 BCE*, ed. Lester L. Grabbe, 46-72. JSOTSup 363. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2003.
- Beentjes, Panc. "Discovering a New Path of Intertextuality." In *Literary Structure and Rhetorical Strategy in the Hebrew Bible*, ed. L. J. de Regt, J. de Waard, and J. P. Fokkelman, 31-49. Assen: Van Gorcum, 1996.
- _____. "Constructs of Prophets and Prophecy in the Book of Chronicles." Paper delivered at the Annual SBL Conference (photocopy). Boston, 2008.
- _____. *Tradition and Transformation in the Book of Chronicles*. SSN 52. Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2008.
- _____. "Isaiah in the Book of Chronicles." In *Isaiah in Context: Studies in Honour of Arie van der Kooij on the Occasion of His Sixty-fifth Birthday*, ed. Michael N. van der Meer, 91-98. VTSup 52. Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2010.
- Begg, Christopher. "Seeking Yahweh and the Purpose of Chronicles." *Louvain Studies* 9 (1982): 128-141.
- _____. "A Bible Mystery: The Absence of Jeremiah in the Deuteronomistic History." *IBS* 7 (1985): 139-64.
- _____. "2 Kings 20:12-19 as an Element of the Deuteronomistic History." *CBQ* 48 (1986): 27-38.
- _____. "The Non-mention of Amos, Hosea and Micah in the Deuteronomistic History." *BN* 32 (1986): 41-53.
- _____. "The Non-mention of Ezekiel in Dtr, Jeremiah and Chronicles." In *Ezekiel and His Book*, ed. Johan Lust, 340-43. BETL 74. Leuven: University Press/Peeters, 1986.
- _____. "The Significance of Jehoiachin's Release: A New Proposal." *JSOT* 36 (1986): 49-56.
- _____. "The Classical Prophets in the Chronistic History." *BZ* 32 (1988): 100-107.
- _____. "Babylon in the Book of Isaiah." In *The Book of Isaiah*, ed. Jacques Vermeylen, 121-25. BETL 81. Leuven: University Press, 1989.
- _____. "The Ark in Chronicles." In *The Chronicler as Theologian: Essays in Honor of Ralph W. Klein*, ed. Steven L. McKenzie, M. Patrick Graham, and Gary N. Knoppers, 133-45. JSOTSup 371. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2003.
- Ben-Porat, Ziva. "The Poetics of Literary Allusion." *PTL: A Journal for Descriptive Poetics and Theory of Literature* 1 (1976): 105-28.

Ben Zvi, Ehud. "The Authority of 1-2 Chronicles in the Late Second Temple Period." *JSP* 3 (1988): 59-88.

_____. "Who Wrote the Speech of Rabshakeh and When?" *JBL* 109 (1990): 79-92.

_____. "When the Foreign Monarch Speaks." In *The Chronicler as Author: Studies in Text and Texture*, ed. M. Patrick Graham and Steven L. McKenzie, 209-28. JSOTSup 263. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1999.

_____. "Shifting the Gaze: Historiographic Constraints in Chronicles and their Implications." In *The Land that I Will Show You: Essays on the History and Archaeology of the Ancient Near East in Honour of J. Maxwell Miller*, ed. J. Andrew Dearman and M. Patrick Graham, 38-60. JSOTSup 343. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2001.

_____. "The Book of Chronicles: Another Look." *CSBS* 62 (2002): 5-26.

_____. "Chronicles and the Chronicler: A Response to I. Kalimi." *JHS* 6 (2006): 5-14.

Bendavid, Abba, ed. *Parallels in the Bible*. Jerusalem: Carta, 1972.

Beuken, Willem André Maria. *Haggai-Sacharja 1-8*. Assen: Van Gorcum & Comp., 1967.

Blenkinsopp, Joseph. *Prophecy and Canon: A Contribution to the Study of Jewish Origins*. Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1977.

_____. *A History of Prophecy in Israel*. Philadelphia: Westminster, 1983.

_____. "Wisdom in the Chronicler's Work." In *In Search of Wisdom: Essays in Memory of John G. Gammie*, ed. Bernard Brandon Scott, Leo G. Perdue, and William Johnston Wiseman, 19-30. Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox, 1993.

_____. *Isaiah 1-39: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary*. AB 19. New York: Doubleday, 2000.

_____. "The Bible, Archaeology and Politics; or The Empty Land Revisited." *JSOT* 27, no. 2 (2002): 169-87.

Bloch, Renée. "Midrash." In *DBSup* 5.163-81, 1955.

_____. "Note méthodologique pour l'étude de la littérature rabbinique." *RSR* 43 (1955): 194-227.

Bloom, Harold. *The Anxiety of Influence: A Theory of Poetry*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1973.

- Boda, Mark J., and Michael H. Floyd, eds. *Bringing out the Treasure: Inner Biblical Allusion in Zechariah 9-14*. JSOTSup 370. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2003.
- Bogaert, Pierre-Maurice. "L'organisation des grands recueils prophétiques." In *The Book of Isaiah*, ed. Jacques Vermeylen, 147-53. BETL 81. Leuven: University Press, 1989.
- Borger, R. "An Additional Remark on P. R. Ackroyd, JNES, XVII, 23-27." *JNES* 18, no. 1 (1959): 74.
- Bostock, David. *A Portrayal of Trust: The Theme of Faith in the Hezekiah Narratives*. Paternoster Biblical Monographs. Milton Keynes, UK: Paternoster, 2006.
- Botha, Phil. "'No King Like Him...': Royal Etiquette According to the Deuteronomistic Historian." In *Past, Present, Future: The Deuteronomistic History and the Prophets*, ed. Johannes C. de Moor and Harry F. van Rooy, 36-49. OTS 44. Leiden: Brill, 2000.
- Brandt, Pitre. "Rewritten Bible." In *The Westminster Dictionary of New Testament and Early Christian Literature and Rhetoric*, ed. David Edward Aune, 410-14. Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 2003.
- Braun, Roddy L. "The Message of Chronicles: 'Rally 'Round the Temple'." *CTM* 42 (1971): 502-14.
- _____. "The Significance of 1 Chronicles 22, 28, and 29 for the Structure and Theology of the Work of the Chronicler." ThD dissertation, Concordia Seminary, 1971.
- _____. "Solomonic Apologetic in Chronicles." *JBL* 92 (1973): 503-16.
- _____. "Solomon, the Chosen Temple Builder: The Significance of 1 Chronicles 22, 28, and 29 for the Theology of Chronicles." *JBL* 95 (1976): 581-90.
- _____. "Chronicles, Ezra, and Nehemiah: Theology and Literary History." In *Studies in the Historical Books of the Old Testament*, ed. J. A. Emerton, 52-64. VTSup 30. Leiden: Brill, 1979.
- _____. *1 Chronicles*. WBC. Waco, TX: Word, 1986.
- _____. "1 Chronicles 1-9 and the Reconstruction of the History of Israel: Thoughts on the Use of Genealogical Data in Chronicles in the Reconstruction of the History of Israel." In *The Chronicler as Historian*, ed. Steven L. McKenzie, M. Patrick Graham, and Kenneth G. Hoglund, 92-105. JSOTSup 238. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1997.
- Brettler, Marc Zvi. "2 Kings 24:13-14 as History." *CBQ* 53 (1991): 541-52.

- _____. "From the Deuteronomist(s) to the Chronicler: Continuities and Innovations." In *Proceedings of the Eleventh World Congress of Jewish Studies*, ed. David Assaf, 83-90. Jerusalem: World Union of Jewish Studies, 1994.
- _____. *The Creation of History in Ancient Israel*. London: Routledge 1995.
- _____. "Predestination in Deuteronomy 30:1-10." In *Those Elusive Deuteronomists: The Phenomenon of Pan-Deuteronomism*, ed. Steven L. McKenzie and Linda S. Schearing, 171-88. JSOTSup 268. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1999.
- Briggs, Richard. "The Theological Function of Repetition in the Old Testament Canon." *HBT* 28 (2006): 95-112.
- Bright, John. *Jeremiah*. AB 21. Garden City, New York: Doubleday, 1965.
- _____. *A History of Israel*. Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1981.
- Brownlee, William Hugh. *The Meaning of the Qumran Scrolls for the Bible: With Special Attention to the Book of Isaiah*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1964.
- Bruce, F. F. "The Earliest Old Testament Interpretation." *OTS* 17 (1972): 37-52.
- Brueggemann, Walter. "Unity and Dynamic in the Isaiah Tradition." *JSOT* 29 (1984): 89-107.
- _____. *The Theology of the Book of Jeremiah*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007.
- _____, and Hans Walter Wolff. *The Vitality of Old Testament Traditions*. Atlanta: John Knox Press, 1982.
- Bruner, Ron. "Harmony and Historiography: Genre as a Tool for Understanding the Differences between Samuel-Kings and Chronicles." *Restoration Quarterly* 46 (2004): 79-93.
- Brunet, A. -M. "La Théologie du Chroniste: Théocratie et Messianisme." In *Sacra Pagina: Miscellanea Biblica Congressus Internationalis Catholici de Re Biblica*, ed. Joseph Coppens, A. -L. Descamps, and Édouard Massaux, 384-97. BETL 12. Gembloux: Duculot, 1959.
- Budde, Karl. *Jesaja's Erleben: Eine gemeinverständliche Auslegung der Denkschrift des Propheten (Kap. 6,1-9,6)*. Gotha: Leopold Klotz Verlag, 1928.
- Butler, T. C. "A Forgotten Passage from a Forgotten Era." *VT* 28 (1978): 142-50.
- Caquot, Andre. "Peut-on parler de messianisme dans l'oeuvre du Chroniste?" *RTP* 16 (1966): 110-20.

- Carr, David M. "What Can We Say about the Tradition History of Isaiah? A Response to Christopher Seitz's *Zion's Final Destiny*." In *SBL 1992 Seminar Papers*, ed. Eugene H. Lovering, Jr., 583-97. SBLSP 31. Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1992.
- _____. "Reading Isaiah from Beginning (Isaiah 1) to End (Isaiah 65-66): Multiple Modern Possibilities." In *New Visions of Isaiah*, ed. Roy F. Melugin and Marvin A. Sweeney, 188-218. JSOTSup 214. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1996.
- _____. *Writing on the Tablet of the Heart: Origins of Scripture and Literature*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005.
- Carroll, Robert P. *When Prophecy Failed: Reactions and Responses to Failure in the Old Testament Prophetic Traditions*. London: SCM Press, 1979.
- _____. *Jeremiah: A Commentary*. OTL. Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1986.
- _____. "The Myth of the Empty Land." *Semeia* 59 (1992): 79-93.
- _____. "Synchronic Deconstructions of Jeremiah: Diachrony to the Rescue?" In *Synchronic or Diachronic? A Debate on Method in Old Testament Exegesis*, ed. Johannes C. de Moor, 39-51. OTS 34. Leiden: Brill, 1995.
- Cazelles, Henri. "587 ou 586?" In *The Word of the Lord Shall Go Forth: Essays in Honor of David Noel Freedman*, ed. Carol L. Meyers and M. O'Connor, 427-35. Philadelphia: Eisenbrauns, 1983.
- _____. "Jeremiah and Deuteronomy." In *A Prophet to the Nations: Essays in Jeremiah Studies*, ed. Leo G. Perdue and Brian W. Kovacs, 89-112. Winona Lake, Indiana: Eisenbrauns, 1984.
- Chapman, Stephen B. *The Law and the Prophets: a Study in Old Testament Canon Formation*. FAT 27. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2000.
- _____. "'The Law and the Words' as a Canonical Formula within the Old Testament." In *The Interpretation of Scripture in Early Judaism and Christianity: Studies in Language and Traditions*, ed. Craig A. Evans, 25-74. JSPSup 33. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2000.
- _____. "How the Biblical Canon Began: Working Models and Open Questions." In *Homer, the Bible, and Beyond: Literary and Religious Canons in the Ancient World*, ed. Margalit Finkelberg and Guy G. Stroumsa, 29-51. Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2003.
- Childs, Brevard S. *Isaiah and the Assyrian Crisis*. SBT, Second Series 3. London: SCM, 1967.
- _____. "Psalm Titles and Midrashic Exegesis." *JSS* 16, no. 2 (1971): 137-50.

- _____. "Midrash and the Old Testament." In *Understanding the Sacred Text: Essays in Honor of Morton S. Enslin on the Hebrew Bible and Christian Beginnings*, ed. John Reumann, 45-59. Valley Forge, Pennsylvania: Judson Press, 1972.
- _____. "The Exegetical Significance of Canon for the Study of the Old Testament." In *Congress Volume, Göttingen 1977*, ed. J. A. Emerton, et al., 66-80. VTSup 29. Leiden: Brill, 1978.
- _____. *Introduction to the Old Testament as Scripture*. Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1979.
- _____. "A Response." *HBT* 2 (1980): 199-211.
- _____. *The New Testament as Canon: An Introduction*. Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1985.
- _____. *Biblical Theology of the Old and New Testaments: Theological Reflection on the Christian Bible*. Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1992.
- _____. "Retrospective Reading of the Old Testament Prophets." *ZAW* 108/3 (1996): 362-77.
- Clayton, Jay, and Eric Rothstein. "Figures in the Corpus: Theories of Influence." In *Influence and Intertextuality in Literary History*, ed. Jay Clayton and Eric Rothstein, 3-36. Madison, Wisconsin: University of Wisconsin Press, 1991.
- Clements, Ronald E. *God and Temple*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1965.
- _____. *Prophecy and Covenant*. SBT 43. London: SCM Press, 1965.
- _____. *Prophecy and Tradition*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1975.
- _____. "Messianic Prophecy or Messianic History?" *HBT* 1 (1979): 87-104.
- _____. *Isaiah 1-39*. NCB. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1980.
- _____. *Isaiah and the Deliverance of Jerusalem: A Study of the Interpretation of Prophecy in the Old Testament*. JSOTSup 13. Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1980.
- _____. "The Prophecies of Isaiah and the Fall of Jerusalem in 587 B.C." *VT* 30 (1980): 421-36.
- _____. "The Unity of the Book of Isaiah." *Int* 36 (1982): 117-29.
- _____. "The Isaiah Narrative of 2 Kings 20:12-19 and the Date of the Deuteronomistic History." In *Essays on the Bible and the Ancient World, Vol. 3*, ed. Alexander Rofé and Yair Zakovitch, 209-20. Jerusalem: E. Rubinstein's Publishing House, 1983.

- _____. "Beyond Tradition-History: Deutero-Isaianic Development of First Isaiah Themes." *JSOT* 31 (1985): 95-113.
- _____. "Isaiah 14,22-27: A Central Passage Reconsidered." In *The Book of Isaiah*, ed. Jacques Vermeulen, 253-62. BETL 81. Leuven: University Press, 1989.
- _____. "The Immanuel Prophecy of Isa. 7:10-17 and Its Messianic Interpretation." In *Old Testament Prophecy: From Oracles to Canon*, 65-77. Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 1996.
- _____. "Patterns in the Prophetic Canon." In *Old Testament Prophecy: From Oracles to Canon*, 191-202. Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 1996.
- _____. "The Davidic Covenant in the Isaiah Tradition." In *Covenant as Context: Essays in Honour of E. W. Nicholson*, ed. Andrew David Hasting Mayes and Robert B. Salters, 39-67. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003.
- _____. "A Royal Privilege: Dining in the Presence of the Great King (2 Kings 25.27-30)." In *Reflection and Refraction: Studies in Biblical Historiography in Honour of A. Graeme Auld*, ed. Robert Rezetko, Timothy H. Lim, and W. Brian Aucker, 49-66. VTSup 113. Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2006.
- Clines, David J. A. "The Old Testament Histories: A Reader's Guide." In *What Does Eve Do to Help? and Other Readerly Questions to the Old Testament*, 85-105. JSOTSup 94. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1990.
- Cogan, Mordechai, and Hayim Tadmor. *II Kings: A New Translation*. AB. Garden City, New York: Doubleday, 1988.
- Coggins, Richard James. *The First and Second Books of the Chronicles*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979.
- Collins, John J. *Jerusalem and the Temple in Jewish Apocalyptic Literature of the Second Temple Period*. International Rennert Guest Lecture Series, Vol. 1. Ramat-Gan: Bar-Ilan University Press, 1998.
- Conrad, Edgar. *Fear Not Warrior: A Study of 'al tira' Pericopes in the Hebrew Scriptures*. BJS 75. Chicago: Scholars Press, 1985.
- _____. "The Royal Narratives and the Structure of the Book of Isaiah." *JSOT* 41 (1988): 67-81.
- _____. *Reading Isaiah*. OBT. Minneapolis: Augsburg Fortress Publishers, 1991.
- _____. "Forming the Twelve and Forming Canon." In *Thematic Threads in the Book of the Twelve*, ed. Paul L. Redditt and Aaron Schart, 90-103. BZAW 325. Berlin, New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2003.
- Crenshaw, James L. *Prophetic Conflict: Its Effect Upon Israelite Religion*. BZAW 124. Berlin, New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1971.

- Cross, Frank Moore. *Canaanite Myth and Hebrew Epic: Essays in the History of the Religion of Israel*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1973.
- _____. "A Reconstruction of the Judean Restoration." *JBL* 94 (1975): 4-18.
- _____. *From Epic to Canon: History and Literature in Ancient Israel*. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1998.
- Crüsemann, Frank. "Kritik an Amos im deuteronomistischen Geschichtswerk Erwägung zu Könige 14,27." In *Probleme biblischer Theologie: Gerhard von Rad zum 70 Geburtstag*, ed. Hans Walter Wolff, 57-63. München: Kaiser, 1971.
- Curtis, Edward Lewis, and Albert Alonzo Madsen. *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Books of Chronicles*. ICC. New York: Scribner's, 1910.
- Davies, Philip R. *Scribes and Schools: The Canonization of the Hebrew Scriptures*. Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 1988.
- Day, John. "The Ark and the Cherubim in the Psalms." In *Psalms and Prayers*, ed. Bob Becking and Eric Peels, 65-77. OTS 55. Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2007.
- Delitzsch, Franz. *Commentary on Isaiah*. Vol. 2. Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1892.
- De Moor, Johannes C., ed. *Synchronic or Diachronic? A Debate on Method in Old Testament Exegesis*. OTS 34. Leiden, New York: Brill, 1995.
- DeVries, Simon J. "the Forms of Prophetic Address in Chronicles." *HAR* 10 (1986): 15-36.
- _____. "The Schema of Dynastic Endangerment in Chronicles." *Proceedings, Eastern Great Lakes and Midwest Biblical Societies* 7 (1987): 59-77.
- _____. "Moses and David as Cult Founders in Chronicles." *JBL* 107, no. 4 (1988): 619-39.
- _____. *I and II Chronicles*. FOTL. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1989.
- Dietrich, Walter. *Prophetie und Geschichte*. FRLANT 108. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1972.
- Dillard, Raymond B. "The Reign of Asa (2 Chr 14-16): An Example of the Chronicler's Theological Method." *JETS* 23 (1980): 207-18.
- _____. "Reward and Punishment in Chronicles: The Theology of Immediate Retribution." *WTJ* 46 (1984): 164-72.
- _____. *2 Chronicles*. WBC 15. Waco, Texas: Word Books, 1987.

- Dion, Paul-Eugène. "Sennacherib's Expedition to Palestine." *ET* 20 (1989): 5-25.
- Doorly, William J. *Obsession with Justice: The Story of the Deuteronomists*. New York: Paulist Press, 1994.
- Dörrfuß, Ernst M. *Mose in den Chronikbüchern: Garant theokratischer Zukunftserwartung*. BZAW 219. Berlin: de Gruyter, 1994.
- Draisma, Sipke, ed. *Intertextuality in Biblical Writings: Essays in Honour of Bas van Iersel*. Kampen: J. H. Kok, 1989.
- Driver, Daniel. *Brevard Childs, Biblical Theologian: For the Church's One Bible* FAT II. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2010.
- Driver, Samuel Rolles. "The Speeches in Chronicles." *The Expositor* 1 and 2 (1895): 241-56; 286-308.
- _____. *Deuteronomy*. ICC. Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1895.
- _____. *An Introduction to the Literature of the Old Testament*. New York: Scribner's Sons, 1899.
- Duhm, Bernhard. *Das Buch Jesaia*. HKAT 3.1. Göttingen Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1892.
- _____. *Das Buch Jeremia*. KHAT 11. Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1901.
- Duke, Rodney K. *The Persuasive Appeal of the Chronicler: A Rhetorical Analysis*. Sheffield: Almond Press, 1990.
- _____. "The Strategic Use of Enthymeme and Example in Argumentation of the Books of Chronicles." In *Rhetorical Argumentation in Biblical Texts*, ed. Thomas H. Olbricht, Anders Eriksson, and Walter Übelacker, 127-40. Harrisburg, Pennsylvania: Trinity Press International, 2002.
- Dyck, Jonathan E. *The Theocratic Ideology of the Chronicler*. BIS 33. Leiden: Brill, 1998.
- Edenburg, Cynthia. "How (Not) to Murder a King: Variations on a Theme in 1 Sam 24:26." *SJOT* 12, no. 1 (1998): 64-85.
- Eichhorn, J. G. *Einleitung ins Alte Testament*. Leipzig: Weidmann, 1780-83.
- Eichrodt, Walther. *Theology of the Old Testament*. OTL Vol. 2. London: SCM Press, 1967.
- Eissfeldt, Otto. *The Old Testament: An Introduction*. Translated by Peter Ackroyd. Oxford: Blackwell, 1965.
- Emerton, J. A. "A Note on Isaiah xxxv 9-10." *VT* 27 (1977): 488-9.

- Eskenazi, Tamara C. *In an Age of Prose: A Literary Approach to Ezra-Nehemiah*. SBLMS 36. Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1988.
- _____. "A Literary Approach to Chronicles' Ark Narrative in 1 Chronicles 13-16." In *Fortunate the Eyes That See: Essays in Honor of David Noel Freedman in Celebration of His Seventieth Birthday*, ed. Astrid B. Beck, Andrew H. Bartlet, Paul R. Raabe, and Chris A. Franke, 258-74. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1995.
- Eslinger, Lyle. "Josiah and the Torah Book: Comparison of 2 Kgs 22:1-23:28 and 2 Chr 34:1-35:19." *HAR* 10 (1986): 37-62.
- _____. "Inner-biblical Exegesis and Inner-biblical Allusion: The Question of Category." *VT* 1 (1992): 47-58.
- Evans, Craig A. "On the Unity and Parallel Structure of Isaiah." *VT* 38 (1988): 129-47.
- _____, and Shemaryahu Talmon, eds. *The Quest for Context and Meaning: Studies in Biblical Intertextuality in Honor of James A. Sanders*. Leiden; New York; Köln: Brill 1997.
- Evans, Paul S. *The Invasion of Sennacherib in the Book of Kings: A Source-Critical and Rhetorical Study of 2 Kings 18-19*. VTSup 125. Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2009.
- Ewald, H. *Geschichte des Volkes Israel bis Christus*. Vol. 1. Göttingen: Dieterich, 1843.
- _____. *The History of Israel*. Vol. 1. 3rd ed. London: Longmans, Green, 1876.
- Fishbane, Michael. *Biblical Interpretation in Ancient Israel*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1985.
- _____. *Garments of Torah: Essays in Biblical Hermeneutics*. Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1989.
- _____. "Types of Biblical Intertextuality." In *Congress Volume: Oslo 1998*, ed. André Lemaire and Magne Sæbø, 39-44. VTSup 80. Leiden: Brill, 2000.
- Fohrer, Georg. *Die Propheten des Alten Testaments*. Vol. 7. Gütersloh Gütersloher Verlagshaus Mohn, 1977.
- Freedman, David Noel. "The Chronicler's Purpose." *CBQ* 23 (1961): 436-42.
- _____. "The Law and the Prophets." *VT* 9 (1963): 250-65.
- French, Valpy. "The Speeches in Chronicles: A Reply." *The Expositor* 2, no. 2 (1895): 140-52.

- Fricke, Klaus Dietrich. *Das Zweite Buch von den Königen*. BAT 12.2. Stuttgart: Calwer, 1972.
- Friedman, Richard Elliott. *The Exile and Biblical Narrative: The Formation of the Deuteronomistic and Priestly Works*. HSM 22. Chico, California: Scholars Press, 1981.
- Frolov, Serge. *The Turn of the Cycle: 1 Samuel 1-8 in Synchronic and Diachronic Perspectives*. BZAW 342. Berlin, New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2004.
- Galil, Gershom. "Sennacherib Versus Hezekiah: A New Look at the Assyrian Campaign to the West" *Zion* 53 (1988): 1-12.
- Gallagher, William R. *Sennacherib's Campaign to Judah: New Studies*. SHCANE 18. Leiden: Brill, 1999.
- Galling, Kurt. *Die Bücher der Chronik, Esra, Nehemia*. ATD 12. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1954.
- Gard, Daniel. "The Chronicler's David: Saint and Sinner." Paper presented at Symposia Conference, Concordia Theological Seminary, 2006.
- Gerbrandt, Gerald E. *Kingship According to the Deuteronomistic History*. SBLDS 87. Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1986.
- Gerhards, Meik. "Die Behnädigung Jojachins -- Überlegungen zu 2 Kön 25,27-30 (mit einem Anhang zu den Nennungen Jojachins auf Zuteilungslisten aus Babylon)." *BN* 94 (1998): 52-67.
- Gesenius, Friedrich Heinrich Wilhelm. *Geschichte der hebraischen Sprache und Schrift*. Leipzig: Friedrich Christian Wilhelm Vogel, 1815.
- _____. *Philologisch-kritischer und historischer Commentar über den Jesaia*. Leipzig: F.C.W. Vogel, 1821.
- Geyer, John B. "2 Kings XVIII 14-16 and the Annals of Sennacherib." *VT* 21 (1971): 604-06.
- Gitay, Yehoshua. "Isaiah and the Syro-Ephraimite War." In *The Book of Isaiah*, ed. Jacques Vermeylen, 217-30. BETL 81. Leuven: University Press, 1989.
- Goldberg, J. "Two Assyrian Campaigns against Hezekiah and Later Eighth Century Biblical Chronology." *Bib* 80, no. 3 (1999): 360-90.
- Goldingay, John. "The Chronicler as Theologian." *BTB* 5 (1975): 99-126.
- Gonçalves, Francolino J. *L'expédition de Sennachérib en Palestine dans la littérature hébraïque ancienne*. Paris: Gabalda, 1986.
- Gottwald, Norman K. "Immanuel as the Prophet's Son." *VT* 8 (1958): 36-47.

- Grabbe, Lester L., ed. *'Like a Bird in a Cage': The Invasion of Sennacherib in 701 BCE*. JSOTSup 363. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2003.
- _____. *A History of the Jews and Judaism in the Second Temple Period. Volume 1. Yehud: A History of the Persian Province of Judah*. London; New York: T & T Clark, 2004.
- Graf, Karl Heinrich. *Die Geschichtlichen Bücher des Alten Testament*. Leipzig, 1866.
- Graham, Matt Patrick. *The Utilization of 1 and 2 Chronicles in the Reconstruction of Israelite History in the Nineteenth Century*. SBLDS 116. Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1990.
- Gramberg, C.P.W. *Die Chronik nach ihrem geschichtlichen Charakter und ihrer Glaubwürdigkeit neu geprüft*. Halle: Eduard Anton, 1823.
- Granild, Sigurd. "Jeremia und Deuteronomium." *StTh* 16 (1962): 135-54.
- Granoski, Jan Jaynes. "Jehoiachin at the King's Table: A Reading of the Ending of the Second Book of Kings." In *Reading Between Texts: Intertextuality and the Hebrew Bible*, ed. Danna Nolan Fewell, 173-90. Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 1992.
- Gray, John. *I & II Kings*. 2nd ed. OTL. Philadelphia: Westminster 1970.
- Green, William Scott, ed. *Approaches to Ancient Judaism*. BJS 1. Missoula, Montana: Scholars Press, 1978.
- Groves, Joseph W. *Actualization and Interpretation in the Old Testament*. SBLDS 86. Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1987.
- Halpern, Baruch. "Sacred History and Ideology: Chronicles' Thematic Structure -- Indications of an Earlier Source." In *The Creation of Sacred Literature*, ed. Richard Elliot Friedman, 22, 35-54. Berkeley: University of California, 1981.
- _____. "Why Manasseh is Blamed for the Babylonian Exile: The Evolution of a Biblical Tradition." *VT* 48 (1998): 473-513.
- Halpern-Amaru, Betsy. *Rewriting the Bible: Land and Covenant in Post-biblical Jewish Literature*. Valley Forge, Pennsylvania: Trinity Press International, 1994.
- Hänel, Johannes, and Johann Wilhelm Rothstein. *Kommentar zum ersten Buch der Chronik*. KAT 18/2. Leipzig: D. Werner Scholl, 1927.
- Hanson, Paul. *The Dawn of Apocalyptic*. Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1975.
- Hardmeier, Christof. *Prophetie im Streit vor dem Untergang Judas: Erzählkommunikative Studien zur Entstehungssituation der Jesaja- und*

- Jeremiaerzählungen in II Reg 18-20 und Jer 37-40*. BZAW 197. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1990.
- _____. "Die Propheten Micha und Jesaja im Spiegel von Jeremia XXVI und Regum XVIII-XX." In *Congress Volume Leuven 1989*, ed. John Adney Emerton, 172-89. VTSup 43. Leiden: Brill, 1991.
- Hayes, John H. "The Tradition of Zion's Inviolability." *JBL* 82, no. 4 (1963): 419-26.
- Hays, Richard. *Echoes of Scripture in the Letters of Paul*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989.
- Hernando, Eusebio. "El Profetismo en los libros de las Crónicas." *Scriptorium Victoriense* 34 (1987): 45-66.
- Herrmann, Siegfried. *Die prophetischen Heilserwartungen im Alten Testament: Ursprung und Gestaltswandel*. BWANT 85. Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer, 1965.
- Hess, Richard. "Hezekiah and Sennacherib in 2 Kings 18-20." In *Zion, City of Our God*, ed. Richard Hess and Gordon Wenham, 23-41. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1999.
- Hill, A. E. "Patchwork Poetry or Reasoned Verse? Connective Structure in 1 Chronicles XVI." *VT* 33 (1983): 97-101.
- Hill, John. "The Construction of Time in Jeremiah 25 (MT)." In *Troubling Jeremiah*, ed. Kathleen M. O'Connor, A. R. Pete Diamond, and Louis Stulman, 146-60. JSOTSup 260. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1999.
- Hjelm, Ingrid. *Jerusalem's Rise to Sovereignty: Zion and Gerizim in Competition*. JSOTSup 404. London, New York: T & T Clark, 2004.
- Ho, Craig Y. S. "Conjectures and Refutations: Is 1 Samuel 31:1-3 Really the Source of 1 Chronicles 10:1-12?" *VT* 45 (1995): 82-106.
- _____. "The Stories of the Family Troubles of Judah and David: A Study of Their Literary Links." *VT* 49 (1999): 514-31.
- Hobbs, T. R. "Some Remarks on the Composition and Structure of the Book of Jeremiah." In *A Prophet to the Nations: Essays in Jeremiah Studies*, ed. Leo G. Perdue and Brian W. Kovacs, 175-91. Winona Lake, Indiana: Eisenbrauns, 1984.
- Höffken, Peter. "Recension of J. Jeremiah and L. Perlitt, eds., *Die Botschaft und die Boten*." *BO* 41 (1984): 146-52.
- Hoffmann, Yair. "The Deuteronomist and the Exile." In *Pomegranates and Golden Bells: Studies in Honor of Jacob Milgrom*, ed. David P. Wright, David Noel Freedman, and Avi Hurovitz, 659-75. Winona Lake, Indiana: Eisenbrauns, 1995.

- Holladay, William Lee. *The Root šûbh in the Old Testament with Particular Reference to its Usage in Covenantal Contexts*. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1958.
- _____, ed. *A Concise Hebrew and Aramaic Lexicon of the Old Testament*. Grand Rapids; Leiden: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company; E. J. Brill, 1988
- _____. *Jeremiah 2: A Commentary on the Book of the Prophet Jeremiah Chapters 26-52*. Hermeneia. Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1989.
- Hull, John H. Jr. "Hezekiah - Saint and Sinner: A Conceptual and Contextual Narrative Analysis of 2 Kings 18-20." PhD thesis, The Claremont Graduate School, 1994.
- Hurowitz, Victor (Avigdor). *I Have Built You an Exalted House: Temple Building in the Bible in Light of Mesopotamian and Northwest Semitic Writings*. JSOTSup 115. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1992.
- Hurvitz, Avi. "The Recent Debate on Late Biblical Hebrew: Solid Data, Experts' Opinions, and Inconclusive Arguments." *HS* 47 (2006): 191-210.
- Hyatt, J. Philip. "The Deuteronomic Edition of Jeremiah." In *A Prophet to the Nations: Essays in Jeremiah Studies*, ed. Leo G. Perdue and Brian W. Kovacs, 247-67. Winona Lake, Indiana: Eisenbrauns, 1984.
- _____. "Jeremiah and Deuteronomy." In *A Prophet to the Nations: Essays in Jeremiah Studies*, ed. Leo G. Perdue and Brian W. Kovacs, 113-27. Winona Lake, Indiana: Eisenbrauns, 1984.
- Im, Tae-Soo. *Das Davidbild in den Chronikbüchern: David als Idealbild des theokratischen Messianismus für den Chronisten*. EH 23. Frankfurt am Main: Lang 1985.
- Janssen, Enno. *Juda in der Exilszeit: Ein Beitrag zur Frage der Entstehung des Judenthums*. FRLANT 69. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1956.
- Janzen, David. "An Ambiguous Ending: Dynastic Punishment in Kings and the Fate of the Davidides in 2 Kings 25.27-30." *JSOT* 33 (2008): 39-58.
- Janzen, Gerald. *Studies in the Text of Jeremiah*. HSM 6. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1973.
- Japhet, Sara "The Supposed Common Authorship of Chronicles and Ezra-Nehemiah Investigated Anew." *VT* 18 (1968): 330-71.
- _____. *The Ideology of the Book of Chronicles and Its Place in Biblical Thought*. Translated by Anna Barber. Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 1989.
- _____. "The Temple in the Restoration Period: Reality and Ideology." *USQR* 44 (1991): 195-251.

- _____. *I & II Chronicles: A Commentary*. OTL. London: SCM Press, 1993.
- _____. *From the Rivers of Babylon to the Highlands of Judah: Collected Studies on the Restoration Period*. Winona Lake, Indiana: Eisenbrauns, 2006.
- Jarick, John. *I Chronicles*. 2nd ed. Readings: A New Biblical Commentary. Sheffield: Sheffield Phoenix Press, 2002.
- _____. *2 Chronicles*. Readings: A New Biblical Commentary. Sheffield: Sheffield Phoenix Press, 2007.
- Jastrow, Marcus. "Ro'eh and Hozeh in the Old Testament." *JBL* 28 (1909): 42-56.
- Jepsen, Alfred. *Die Quellen des Königsbuches*. Halle: M. Niemeyer, 1956.
- Jeremias, Christian. "Zu Jes. Xxxvii 21f." *VT* 21 (1971): 104-12.
- Johnson, Marshall D. *The Purpose of the Biblical Genealogies*. 2nd ed. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1969.
- Johnstone, William. *1 and 2 Chronicles. Volume 1. 1 Chronicles 1-2 Chronicles 9: Israel's Place among the Nations*. JSOTSup 253. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1997.
- _____. *1 and 2 Chronicles. Volume 2. 2 Chronicles 10-36: Guilt and Atonement*. JSOTSup 254. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1997.
- _____. *Chronicles and Exodus: An Analogy and its Application*. JSOTSup 275. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1998.
- Jones, Douglas. "The Traditio of the Oracles of Isaiah of Jerusalem." *ZAW* 67 (1955): 226-46.
- Jones, Gwilym H. *1 and 2 Kings*. NCB. Grand Rapids: W.B. Eerdmans, 1984.
- Jonker, Louis. "Who Constitutes Society? Yehud's Self-understanding in the Late Persian Era as Reflected in the Books of Chronicles." *JBL* 127 (2008): 703-24.
- _____. "The Exile as Sabbath Rest: The Chronicler's Interpretation of the Exile." In *Exile and Suffering*, ed. Bob Becking and Dirk Human, 213-29. OTS 50. Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2009.
- Kaiser, Otto. *Isaiah 13-39: A Commentary*. Translated by Richard Armstrong Wilson. OTL. Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1974.
- _____. *Introduction to the Old Testament: A Presentation of its Results and Problems*. Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1977.

- Kalimi, Isaac. "Literary-chronological Proximity in the Chronicler's Historiography." *VT* 43, no. 3 (1993): 318-38.
- _____. "History of Interpretation: The Book of Chronicles in Jewish Tradition from Daniel to Spinoza." *RB* 105 (1998): 5-41.
- _____. *An Ancient Israelite Historian: Studies in the Chronicler, His Time, Place and Writing*. SSN 46. Assen, The Netherlands: Royal Van Gorcum, 2005.
- _____. *The Reshaping of Ancient Israelite History in Chronicles*. Winona Lake, Indiana: Eisenbrauns, 2005.
- _____, and James D. Purvis. "King Jehoiachin and the Vessels of the Lord's House in Biblical Literature." *CBQ* 56 (1994): 449-57.
- Kartveit, Magnar. *Motive und Schichten der Landtheologie in I Chronik 1-9*. ConBOT 28. Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1989.
- _____. "2 Chronicles 36:20-23 as Literary and Theological 'Interface'." In *The Chronicler as Author: Studies in Text and Texture*. ed. M. Patrick Graham and Steven L. McKenzie, 395-403. JSOTSup 263. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1999.
- Kasher, Rimon. "The *Sitz im Buch* of the Story of Hezekiah's Illness and Cure (II Reg 20,1-11; Isa 38,1-22)." *ZAW* 113 (2001): 41-55.
- Kaufmann, Yehezkel. *The Religion of Israel from the Beginnings to the Babylonian Exile*. Translated by Moshe Greenberg. Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1960.
- Kegler, Jürgen. "Prophetengestalten im Deuteronomistischen Geschichtswerk und in den Chronikbücher." *ZAW* 105 (1993): 481-97.
- Keil, Carl Friedrich. *Apologetischer Versuch über die Bücher der Chronik und über die Integrität des Buches Esra*. Berlin: Ludwig Oehmigke, 1833.
- _____. *Biblical Commentary on the Old Testament: The Books of the Kings*. Translated by James Martin. Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1872.
- _____, and Franz Delitzsch. *Biblical Commentary on the Old Testament: the Books of the Chronicles*. Translated by Andrew Harper. Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1872.
- Kellerman, Ulrich. "Anmerkungen zum Verständnis der Tora in den chronistischen Schriften." *BN* 42 (1988): 49-92.
- Kelly, Brian E. "Messianic Elements in the Chronicler's Work." In *The Lord's Anointed: Interpretation of Old Testament Messianic Texts*, ed. Philip E. Satterthwaite, Richard S. Hess, and Gordon J. Wenham, 249-64. Carlisle and Grand Rapids: Paternoster Press and Baker Books, 1995.

- _____. *Retribution and Eschatology in Chronicles*. JSOTSup 211. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1996.
- Kimhi, Rabbi David. *The Commentary of Rabbi David Kimhi to Chronicles: A Translation with Introduction and Supercommentary*. Translated by Yitzhak Berger. BJS 345. Providence, Rhode Island: Brown University, 2007.
- Kittel, Rudolf. *Die Bücher der Chronik*. HKAT 6/1, ed. W. Nowack. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1902.
- Klausner, Joseph. "Why is Jeremiah not Mentioned in the Book of Kings?" In *Mordecai M. Kaplan Jubilee Volume*, ed. Moshe Davis, 189-203. New York: Jewish Theological Seminary of America, 1953.
- Klein, Ralph W. "The Ironic End of Joash in Chronicles." In *For a Later Generation*, ed. Randal A. Argall, Beverly A. Bow, and Rodney A. Werline, 116-27. Harrisburg, Pennsylvania: Trinity Press International, 2000.
- _____. *1 Chronicles: A Commentary*. Hermeneia. Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2006.
- Kleinig, John W. *The Lord's Song: The Basis, Function and Significance of Choral Music in Chronicles*. JSOTSup 156. Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1993.
- Knauf, Ernst Axel. "Does 'Deuteronomistic Historiography' (DH) Exist?" In *Israel Constructs Its History: Deuteronomistic Historiography in Recent Research* ed. Albert de Pury, Thomas Römer and Jean-Daniel Macchi, 388-98. JSOTSup 306. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2000.
- Knight, Douglas A., ed. *Tradition and Theology in the Old Testament*. London: SPCK, 1977.
- Knoppers, Gary. "Rehoboam in Chronicles: Villain or Victim?" *JBL* 109, no. 3 (1990): 423-440.
- _____. "'There was None Like Him': Incomparability in the Books of Kings." *CBQ* 54 (1992): 411-31.
- _____. "'Yhwh Is Not with Israel': Alliances as a Topos in Chronicles." *CBQ* 58 (1996): 601-26.
- _____. "Jerusalem at War in Chronicles." In *Zion, City of Our God*, ed. Richard Hess and Gordon Wenham, 57-76. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1999.
- _____. "Treasures Won and Lost: Royal (Mis)appropriations in Kings and Chronicles." In *The Chronicler as Author: Studies in Text and Texture*, ed. M. Patrick Graham and Steven L. McKenzie, 181-208. JSOTSup 263. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1999.

- _____. *1 Chronicles 1-9: A New Translation with Introduction, Notes and Commentary*. AB. Garden City, New York: Doubleday, 2003.
- _____. *1 Chronicles 10-29: A New Translation with Introduction, Notes and Commentary*. AB. Garden City, New York: Doubleday, 2004.
- Koch, Klaus. "Ezra and the Origins of Judaism." *JSS* 19 (1974): 173-97.
- _____. "Das Profetenschweigen des deuteronomistischen Geschichtswerks." In *Die Botschaft und die Boten: Festschrift für Hans Walter Wolff zum 70 Geburtstag*, ed. Jörg Jeremias and Lothar Perlitt, 115-28. Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1981.
- Köhler, Ludwig. *Old Testament Theology*. Translated by A. S. Todd. London: 1957.
- Konkel, August H. "The Sources of the Story of Hezekiah in the book of Isaiah." *VT* 43 (1993): 462-82.
- Koole, Jan L. *Isaiah: Part 3, Volume 1: Isaiah 40-48*. HCOT. Kampen: Kok Pharos Publishing House, 1997.
- Kooij, Arie van der. *Die alten Textzeugen des Jesajabucher: ein Beitrag zur Textgeschichte des Alten Testaments*. OBO 35. Freiburg-Göttingen: Universitätsverlag-Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1981.
- _____. "The Story of Hezekiah and Sennacherib (2 Kings 18-19): A Sample of Ancient Historiography." In *Past, Present, Future: The Deuteronomistic History and the Prophets*, ed. Johannes C. de Moor and Harry F. van Rooy, 107-119. Leiden: Brill, 2000.
- Kratz, Reinhard Gregor. *Kyros im Deuterjesaja-Buch: Redaktionsgeschichtliche Untersuchungen zu Entstehung*. FAT 1. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1991.
- _____. *The Composition of the Narrative Books of the Old Testament*. Translated by John Bowden. London: T & T Clark, 2005.
- Kristeva, Julia. *Desire in Language: A Semiotic Approach to Literature and Art*, ed. Leon S. Roudiez. Translated by Alice Jardine, Thomas Gora, and Leon S. Roudiez. New York: Columbia University Press, 1980.
- _____. *Revolution in Poetic Language*. Translated by Margaret Waller. New York: Columbia University Press, 1984.
- Kuenen, Abraham. *Historisch-kritische Einleitung in die Bücher des alten Testaments hinsichtlich ihrer Entstehung und Sammlung. Zweiter Teil*. Leipzig, 1892.
- Kugel, James. "Early Interpretation: The Common Background of Late Forms of Biblical Exegesis." In *Early Biblical Interpretation*, ed. James Kugel and Rowan Greer, 9-106. Philadelphia: Westminster, 1986.

- Kuntzmann, Raymond. "La fonction prophétique en 1-2 Chroniques: Du ministère de la Parole au service de l'institution communautaire." In *Ich bewirke das Heil und erschaffe das Unheil (Jesaja 45,7): Studien zur Botschaft der Propheten*, ed. Friedrich Dietrich and Bernd Willmes, 245-58. FzB 88. Würzburg: Echter Verlag, 1998.
- Laato, Antti. "Hezekiah and the Assyrian Crisis in 701 B.C." *SJOT* 1, no. 2 (1987): 49-68.
- _____. *Who is Immanuel? The Rise and Foundering of Isaiah's Messianic Expectations*. Åbo: Åbo Academy Press, 1988.
- _____. *The Servant of YHWH and Cyrus: A Reinterpretation of the Exilic Messianic Programme in Isaiah 40-55*. ConBOT 35. Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell International, 1992.
- _____. "Second Samuel 7 and Ancient Near Eastern Royal Ideology." *CBQ* 59 (1997): 244-69.
- _____. *About Zion I Will Not Be Silent: The Book of Isaiah as an Ideological Unity*. ConBOT 44. Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1998.
- Lack, Rémi. *La symbolique du livre d'Isaïe: Essai sur l'image littéraire comme élément de structuration*. AnBib 59. Rome: Biblical Institute, 1973.
- Langton, Stephen. *Commentary on the Book of Chronicles*. Ramat-Gan: Bar-Ilan University Press, 1978.
- Lemke, Werner E. "Synoptic Studies in the Chronicler's History." PhD dissertation, Harvard University, 1963.
- _____. "The Synoptic Problem in the Chronicler's History." *HTR* 58, no. 4 (1965): 349-63.
- Leonard, Jeffrey. "Identifying Inner-Biblical Allusions: Psalm 78 as a Test Case." *JBL* 127, no. 2 (2008): 241-65.
- Leuchter, Mark. "Jeremiah's 70-Year Prophecy and the ששך/לב קמי *Atbash* Codes." *Bib* 85 (2004): 503-22.
- _____. *The Polemics of Exile in Jeremiah 26-45*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008.
- Levenson, Jon. "Zion Traditions." *ABD* VI, 1098-1102.
- _____. "The Davidic Covenant and its Modern Interpreters." *CBQ* 41 (1979): 205-19.

- _____. "From Temple to Synagogue: 1 Kings 8." In *Traditions in Transformation: Turning Points in Biblical Faith*, ed. Baruch Halpern and Jon Levenson, 143-66. Winona Lake, Indiana: Eisenbrauns, 1981.
- _____. "The Last Four Verses in Kings." *JBL* 103 (1984): 353-61.
- _____. *Sinai and Zion*. Minneapolis, Chicago, New York: Winston Press, 1985.
- Levinson, Bernard. *Deuteronomy and the Hermeneutics of Legal Innovation*. New York, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997.
- _____. *Legal Revision and Religious Renew in Ancient Israel*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008.
- Liebreich, Leon J. "The Compilation of the Book of Isaiah." *JQR* 46; 47 (1955-56): 276-77; 126-27.
- Lipschits, Oded. *The Fall and Rise of Jerusalem: Judah under Babylonian Rule*. Winona Lake, Indiana: Eisenbrauns, 2005.
- Loader, J. A. "Redaction and Function of the Chronistic 'Psalm of David.'" *Oud Testamentiese Werkgemeenschap in Suid-Afrika* 19 (1976): 69-75.
- Lohfink, Norbert. "Der junge Jeremia als Propagandist und Poet: Zum Grundstock von Jer. 30-31." In *Le Livre de Jeremie: Le prophete et son milieu, les oracles et leur transmission*, ed. Pierre-Maurice Bogaert, 351-68. BETL 54. Leuven: Peeters, 1981.
- _____. "Gab es eine deuteronomistische Bewegung?" In *Jeremiah und die 'deuteronomistische Bewegung'*, ed. Walter Groß, 313-82. Weinheim: BELTZ Athenäum, 1995.
- Long, Burke O. *2 Kings*. FOTL 10. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1991.
- Lundbom, Jack R. *Jeremiah: A Study in Ancient Hebrew Rhetoric*. Winona Lake, Indiana: Eisenbrauns, 1997.
- _____. *Jeremiah 1-20*. AB 21A. Garden City, New York: Doubleday, 1999.
- _____. *Jeremiah 21-36*. AB 21B. Garden City, New York: Doubleday, 2004.
- _____. *Jeremiah 37-52*. AB 21C. Garden City, New York: Doubleday, 2004.
- Lust, Johan. "'Gathering and Return' in Jeremiah and Ezekiel." In *Le Livre de Jérémie: Le Prophète et son Milieu les Oracles et leur Transmission*, ed. Pierre-Maurice Bogaert, 119-42. BETL 54. Leuven: University Press, 1981.
- Lyons, Michael A. *From Law to Prophecy: Ezekiel's Use of the Holiness Code*. LHBOTS 507. New York; London: T & T Clark, 2009.

- MacDonald, Nathan. *Not Bread Alone: The Uses of Food in the Old Testament*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2008.
- Macy, H. "The Sources of the Books of Chronicles: A Reassessment." PhD dissertation, Harvard University, 1975.
- Mason, Rex A. "The Prophets of the Restoration." In *Israel's Prophetic Tradition: Essays in Honour of Peter R. Ackroyd*, ed. Richard Coggins, Anthony Phillips, and Michael Knibb, 137-54. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982.
- _____. "Some Echoes of the Preaching in the Second Temple?: Tradition Elements in Zechariah 1-8." *ZAW* 96 (1984): 221-35.
- _____. "Some Chronistic Themes in the 'Speeches' in Ezra and Nehemiah." *ExpTim* 101 (1989): 72-6.
- _____. *Preaching the Tradition: Homily and Hermeneutics after the Exile*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990.
- _____. "Messiah in the Postexilic Old Testament Literature." In *King and Messiah in Israel and the Ancient Near East: Proceedings of the Oxford Old Testament Seminar*, ed. John Day, 338-64. JSOTSup 270. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1998.
- Mathias, Dietmar. "'Levitishe Predigt' und Deuteronomismus." *ZAW* 96 (1984): 23-49.
- McCarthy, Dennis J., S.J. "II Samuel 7 and the Structure of the Deuteronomic History." *JBL* 84, no. 2 (1965): 131-8.
- McConville, Gordon. "God's 'Name' and God's 'Glory'." *TynBul* 30 (1979): 150-63.
- _____. *I & II Chronicles*. The Daily Study Bible Series. Louisville, Kentucky: Westminster John Knox Press, 1984.
- _____. "1 Chronicles 28:9 Yahweh 'Seeks Out' Solomon." *JTS* 37, no. 1 (1986): 105-8.
- _____. "Ezra-Nehemiah and the Fulfilment of Prophecy." *VT* 36, no. 2 (1986): 205-24.
- _____. "Narrative and Meaning in the Book of Kings." *Bib* 70 (1989): 31-49.
- _____. "1 Kings VIII 46-53 and the Deuteronomic Hope." *VT* 42, no. 1 (1992): 67-79.
- _____. "Jerusalem in the Old Testament." In *Jerusalem Past and Present in the Purposes of God*, ed. P. W. L. Walker, 21-51. Cambridge: Tyndale House, 1992.

- McKane, William. *Prophets and Wise Men*. SBT 44. London: SCM Press, 1965.
- _____. *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on Jeremiah, Vols. 1 and 2*. ICC. Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1986/1996.
- McKenzie, J. L. *Second Isaiah: Introduction, Translation, and Notes*. AB. Garden City, New York: Doubleday, 1968.
- McKenzie, Steven L. *The Chronicler's Use of the Deuteronomistic History*. HSM 33. Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1984.
- _____. *The Trouble with Kings*. VTSup 42. Leiden: Brill, 1991.
- _____. "The Books of Kings in the Deuteronomistic History." In *The History of Israel's Traditions: The Heritage of Martin Noth*. ed. Steven L. McKenzie and M. Patrick Graham, 281-307. JSOTSup 82. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1994.
- _____. "The Chronicler as Redactor." In *The Chronicler As Author: Studies in Text and Texture*. ed. M. Patrick Graham and Steven L. McKenzie, 70-90. JSOTSup 263. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1999.
- _____. *1-2 Chronicles*. Nashville: Abingdon Press, 2004.
- Melugin, Roy. *The Formation of Isaiah 40-55*. BZAW 141. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1976.
- Menn, Esther. "Inner-Biblical Exegesis in the Tanak." In *A History of Biblical Interpretation, Vol. 1, The Ancient Period*, ed. Alan J. Hauser and Duane F. Watson, 55-79. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2003.
- Merrill, Eugene. "The Chronicler: What Kind of Historian Was He Anyway?" *BSac* 165 (2008): 397-412.
- Micheel, Rosemarie. *Die Seher- und Prophetenüberlieferungen in der Chronik*. BET 18. Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 1983.
- Miner, Earl. "Allusion." In *The New Princeton Handbook of Poetic Terms*, ed. T. V. F. Brogan, 13-15. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994.
- Mitchell, Christine. "The Dialogism of Chronicles." In *The Chronicler as Author*, ed. M. Patrick Graham and Steven L. McKenzie, 311-26. JSOTSup 263. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1999.
- _____. "Transformations in Meaning: Solomon's Accession in Chronicles." *JHS* 4 (2002): No pages. Cited 26/02/2008. Online: <http://www.jhsonline.org>.
- _____. "History Rewritten in Chronicles and Ben Sira: The Interdependence of Literary Genres in the Second Temple Period." Paper read at the Canadian Society of Biblical Studies Annual Meeting, Winnipeg, Manitoba, 2004.

- Morgan, Donn F. "Canon and Criticism: Method or Madness." *ATR* 68 (1986): 83-94.
- Mosis, Rudolph. *Untersuchungen zur Theologie des chronistischen Geschichtswerkes*. Freiburger theologische Studien. Freiburg: Herder, 1973.
- Motyer, J. Alec. *The Prophecy of Isaiah*. Leicester, England: IVP, 1993.
- Movers, F. C. *Kritische Untersuchungen über die biblische Chronik: Ein Beitrag zur Einleitung in das alte Testament*. Bonn: T. Habicht, 1834.
- Mowinckel, Sigmund. *Zur Komposition des Buches Jeremia*. Kristiania: J. Dybwad, 1914.
- _____. "Erwägungen zum chronistischen Geschichtswerk." *Theologische Literaturzeitung* 85 (1960): 1-8.
- Mullen, E. Theodore. "Crime and Punishment: The Sins of the King and the Despoilation of the Treasuries." *CBQ* 54 (1992): 231-48.
- Murray, Donald. "Dynasty, People, and the Future: The Message of Chronicles." *JSOT* 58 (1993): 71-92.
- _____. "Of All the Years the Hopes: Or Fears? Jehoiachin in Babylon (2 Kings 25:27-30)." *JBL* 120, no. 2 (2001): 245-65.
- Myers, Jacob M. *I Chronicles*. AB 12. Garden City, New York: Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1965.
- _____. *II Chronicles*. AB. Garden City, New York: Doubleday, 1965.
- Na'aman, Nadav. "The Deuteronomist and Voluntary Servitude to Foreign Powers." *JSOT* 65 (1995): 37-53.
- Najman, Hindy. *Seconding Sinai: The Development of Mosaic Discourse in Second Temple Judaism*. Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2003.
- Nelson, Richard D. *The Double Redaction of the Deuteronomistic History*. JSOTSup 18. Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1981.
- _____. *First and Second Kings*. Interpretation. Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 1987.
- Newsome, James D. "The Chronicler's View of Prophecy." PhD dissertation, Vanderbilt University, 1973.
- _____. "Toward a New Understanding of the Chronicler and his Purposes." *JBL* 94 (1975): 201-17.

- _____, ed. *A Synoptic Harmony of Samuel, Kings, and Chronicles: With Related Passages from Psalms, Isaiah, Jeremiah, and Ezra*. Grand Rapids: Baker Book House, 1986.
- Nicholson, Ernest. *Deuteronomy and Tradition*. Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1967.
- _____. *Preaching to the Exiles*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1970.
- Niditch, Susan. *Oral World and Written Word: Ancient Israelite Literature*. Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 1996.
- Nielsen, Kirsten. "Whose Song of Praise? Reflections on the Purpose of the Psalm in 1 Chronicles 16." In *The Chronicler as Author: Studies in Text and Texture*, ed. M. Patrick Graham and Steven L. McKenzie, 327-36. JSOTSup 263. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1999.
- Nogalski, James D. "Intertextuality and the Twelve." In *Forming Prophetic Literature: Essays on Isaiah and the Twelve in Honor of John D. W. Watts*, ed. James W. Watts and Paul House, 102-24. JSOTSup 235. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1996.
- Noordtzi, Arie. "Les Intentions du Chroniste." *RB* 49 (1940): 161-68.
- Norin, Stig. "An Important Kennicott Reading in 2 Kings XVIII 13." *VT* 32 (1982): 337.
- North, Christopher R. "The 'Former Things' and the 'New Things' in Deutero-Isaiah." In *Studies in Old Testament Prophecy*, ed. Harold Henry Rowley, 124-25. Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1950.
- North, Robert. "Theology of the Chronicler." *JBL* 82, no. 4 (1963): 369-81.
- _____. "Does Archaeology Prove Chronicles Sources?" In *A Light unto my Path: Old Testament Studies in Honor of Jacob M. Myers*, ed. R. D. Heim H. N. Bream, C.A. Moore, 4, 375-401. Philadelphia: Temple University, 1974.
- Noth, Martin. *Das System der zwölf Stämme Israels*. BWANT IV, I. Stuttgart, 1930.
- _____. *Überlieferungsgeschichtliche Studien: Die sammelnden und bearbeitenden Geschichtswerke im Alten Testament*. Tübingen: Max Niemeyer, 1943.
- _____. *The Deuteronomistic History*. JSOTSup 15. Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1981.
- _____. *The Chronicler's History*. Translated by Hugh G. M. Williamson. JSOTSup 50. Sheffield: JSOT, 1987.
- Nurmela, Risto. *Prophets in Dialogue: Inner Biblical Allusions in Zechariah 1-8 and 9-14*. Åbo: Åbo Akademi University Press, 1996.

- O'Connell, Robert H. *Concentricity and Continuity: The Literary Structure of Isaiah*. JSOTSup 188. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1994.
- O'Day, Gail. "Jeremiah 9:22-23 and 1 Corinthians 1:26-31: A Study in Intertextuality." *JBL* 109 (1990): 259-67.
- Ollenburger, Ben. *Zion the City of the Great King: A Theological Symbol of the Jerusalem Cult*. JSOTSup 41. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1987.
- Olmstead, Albert T. "The Earliest Book of Kings." *AJSL* 31 (1915): 169-214.
- Orr, Avigdor. "The Seventy Years of Babylon." *VT* 6 (1956): 304-06.
- Otto, Eckart. "Biblische Rechtsgeschichte als Fortschreibungsgeschichte." *BO* 56 (1999): 5-14.
- _____. "The Pentateuch in Synchronical and Diachronical Perspective: Protorabbinic Scribal Erudition Mediating between Deuteronomy and the Priestly Code." In *Das Deuteronomium zwischen Pentateuch und Deuteronomistischen Geschichtswerk*, ed. Eckart Otto and Reinhard Achenbach, 14-35. FRLANT 206. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2004.
- _____. "Scribal Scholarship in the Formation of Torah and Prophets: A Postexilic Scribal Debate between Priestly Scholarship and Literary Prophecy -- The Example of the Book of Jeremiah and Its Relation to the Pentateuch." In *The Pentateuch as Torah: New Models for Understanding Its Promulgation and Acceptance*, ed. Gary Knoppers and Bernard Levinson, 171-84. Winona Lake, Indiana: Eisenbrauns, 2007.
- Parke-Taylor, Geoffrey. *The Formation of the Book of Jeremiah: Doublets and Recurring Phrases*. SBLMS 51. Atlanta: SBL, 2000.
- Parpola, Simo. "The Murder of Sennacherib." In *Death in Mesopotamia: Papers Read at the XXVI Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale*, ed. Bendt Alster, 171-82. Copenhagen: Akademisk Forlag, 1980.
- Peltonen, Kai. *History Debated: The Historical Reliability of Chronicles in Pre-Critical and Critical Research. Vol. 1*. PFES 64. Helsinki: The Finnish Exegetical Society, 1996.
- _____. "Function, Explanation and Literary Phenomena: Aspects of Source Criticism as Theory and Method in the History of Chronicles Research." In *The Chronicler as Author: Studies in Text and Texture*, ed. M. Patrick Graham and Steven L. McKenzie, 18-69. JSOTSup 263. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1999.
- _____. "A Jigsaw with a Model? The Date of Chronicles." In *Did Moses Speak Attic? Jewish Historiography and Scripture in the Hellenistic Period*, ed. Lester L. Grabbe, 225-71. JSOTSup 317. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2001.

- Perrin, Norman. *What is Redaction Criticism?* London: SPCK, 1970.
- Person, Raymond F., Jr. *The Kings-Isaiah and Kings-Jeremiah Recension*. BZAW 252. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1997.
- _____. *The Deuteronomistic History and the Book of Chronicles: Scribal Works in an Oral World*. SBL: Ancient Israel and Its Literature. Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2010.
- Petersen, David L. *Late Israelite Prophecy: Studies in Deutero-Prophetic Literature and in Chronicles*. Missoula: Scholars Press, 1977.
- _____. *The Roles of Israel's Prophets*. JSOTSup 17. Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1981.
- Pisano, Stephen. *Additions or Omissions in the Books of Samuel: The Significant Pluses and Minuses in the Masoretic, LXX and Qumran Texts*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1984.
- Plöger, Otto. "Reden und Gebete im deuteronomistischen und chronistischen Geschichtswerk." In *Aus der Spätzeit des Alten Testaments*, 50-66. Göttingen, 1957.
- _____. *Theocracy and Eschatology*. Translated by S. Rudman. Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1968.
- Pohlmann, Karl-Friedrich. *Studien zum Jeremiabuch: Ein Beitrag zur Frage nach der Entstehung des Jeremiabuches*. FRLANT 118. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1978.
- _____. "Erwägungen zum Schlußkapitel des deuteronomistischen Geschichtswerkes. Oder: Warum wird der Prophet Jeremia in 2. Kön. 22-25 nicht erwähnt?" In *Textgemäß. Aufsätze und Beiträge zur Hermeneutik des Alten Testaments. Festschrift Ernst Würthwein*, ed. Antonius H. J. Gunneweg and Otto Kaiser, 94-109. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1979.
- Polzin, Robert. *Late Biblical Hebrew: Toward a Historical Typology of Biblical Hebrew Prose*. HSM 12. Missoula: Scholars Press, 1976.
- _____. *Moses and the Deuteronomist: A Literary Study of the Deuteronomistic History. Part 1, Deuteronomy, Joshua, Judges*. New York: Seabury, 1980.
- _____. *David and the Deuteronomist: A Literary Study of the Deuteronomistic History. Part 3, 2 Samuel*. Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1993.
- Pomykala, Kenneth. *The Davidic Dynasty Tradition in Early Judaism: Its History and Significance for Messianism*. SBL: Early Judaism and Its Literature. Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1995.

- Pope, Marvin. "Isaiah 34 in Relation to Isaiah 35, 40-66." *JBL* 71 (1952): 235-43.
- Potter, H. D. "The New Covenant in Jeremiah 31:31-34." *VT* 33, no. 3 (1983): 347-57.
- Pritchard, James B., ed. *Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to the Old Testament*, 3rd ed. Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1969.
- Provan, Iain. *Hezekiah and the Books of Kings*. BZAW 172. Berlin, New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1988.
- _____. "The Messiah in the Books of Kings." In *The Lord's Anointed: Interpretation of Old Testament Messianic Texts*, ed. Philip E. Satterthwaite, Richard S. Hess, and Gordon J. Wenham, 67-85. Carlisle and Grand Rapids: Paternoster Press and Baker Books, 1995.
- _____. *1 & 2 Kings*. OTG. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1997.
- _____. "In the Stable with the Dwarves: Testimony, Interpretation, Faith and the History of Israel." In *Congress Volume: Oslo 1998*, ed. Magne Saebø and André Lemaire, 281-319. VTSup 80. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 2000.
- Rad, Gerhard von. *Das Geschichtsbild des chronistischen Werkes*. Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer, 1930.
- _____. "Die levitische Predigt in den Büchern der Chronik." In *Festschrift Otto Procksch*, 113-24. Leipzig, 1934.
- _____. *Studies in Deuteronomy*. Translated by D. Stalker. London: SCM Press, 1953.
- _____. *Old Testament Theology, Volume 1: The Theology of Israel's Historical Traditions*. Translated by D. M. G. Stalker. Edinburgh and London: Oliver and Boyd, 1962.
- _____. *Old Testament Theology, Volume 2: The Theology of Israel's Prophetic Traditions*. Translated by D. M. G. Stalker. Edinburgh and London: Oliver and Boyd, 1965.
- _____. *Deuteronomy: A Commentary*. Translated by Dorothea Barton. OTL. London: SCM Press, 1966.
- _____. *The Problem of the Hexateuch and Other Essays*. Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd, 1966.
- Rainey, Anson F. "The Chronicler and His Sources - Historical and Geographical." In *The Chronicler as Historian*, ed. Kenneth G. Hoglund, M. Patrick Graham, and Steven L. McKenzie, 30-72. JSOTSup 238. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1997.

- Raney, Donald C. II. *History as Narrative in the Deuteronomistic History and Chronicles*. SBEC 56. Lewiston: Edwin Mellen, 2003.
- Rawidowicz, Simon. "On Interpretation." *PAAJR* 26 (1957): 83-126.
- Rendtorff, Rolf. "Zur Komposition des Buches Jesaja." *VT* 34 (1984): 329-52.
- _____. "The Book of Isaiah: A Complex Unity. Synchronic and Diachronic Reading." In *New Visions of Isaiah*, ed. Roy F. Melugin and Marvin A. Sweeney, 32-49. JSOTSup 214. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1996.
- _____. "Chronicles and the Priestly Torah." In *Texts, Temples, and Traditions: A Tribute to Menahem Haran*, ed. Michael V. Fox, et al. 259-66. Winona Lake, Indiana: Eisenbrauns, 1996.
- Renza, Louis. "Influence." In *Critical Terms for Literary Study*, ed. Frank Lentricchia and Thomas McLaughlin, 186-202. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1990.
- Reventlow, H. Graf. "Das Ende der sog. 'Denkschrift' Jesajas." *BN* 38/39 (1987): 62-67.
- _____, and Yair Hoffman, eds. *Justice and Righteousness: Biblical Themes and their Influence*. JSOTSup 137. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1992.
- Rezetko, Robert. "Dating Biblical Hebrew: Evidence from Samuel-Kings and Chronicles." In *Biblical Hebrew: Studies in Chronology and Typology*, ed. Ian Young, 215-50. JSOTSup 369. London: T & T Clark, 2003.
- _____. *Source and Revision in the Narratives of David's Transfer of the Ark: Text, Language, and Story in 2 Samuel 6 and 1 Chronicles 13, 15-16*. JSOTSup 470. London, New York: T & T Clark, 2007.
- Rigsby, Richard O. "The Historiography of Speeches and Prayers in the Books of Chronicles." ThD dissertation, Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, 1973.
- Riley, William. *King and Cultus in Chronicles: Worship and the Reinterpretation of History*. JSOTSup 160. Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1993.
- Roberts, Jimmy Jack McBee. "The Davidic Origin of the Zion Tradition." *JBL* 92, no. 3 (1973): 329-44.
- _____. "Isaiah and his Children." In *Biblical and Related Studies Presented to Samuel Iwry*, ed. Ann Kort and Scott Morschauser, 193-203. Winona Lake, Indiana: Eisenbrauns, 1985.
- Robinson, Bernard P. "Jeremiah's New Covenant: Jer. 31,31-34." *SJOT* 15 (2001): 181-204.

- Rofé, Alexander. *Introduction to the Prophetic Literature*. Translated by Judith H. Seeligmann. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1997.
- Römer, Thomas C. *The So-Called Deuteronomistic History: A Sociological, Historical and Literary Introduction*. London; New York T & T Clark, 2005.
- Rost, Leonhard. *The Succession to the Throne of David*. Sheffield: Almond Press, 1982.
- Rowley, Harold Henry. "Hezekiah's Reform and Rebellion." *BJRL* 44 (1962): 395-431.
- _____. *Men of God: Studies in Old Testament History and Prophecy*. London: Thomas Nelson, 1963.
- Rudolph, Wilhelm. "Problems in the Books of Chronicles." *VT* 4 (1954): 401-09.
- _____. *Chronikbücher*. HAT 1,21. Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1955.
- _____. *Jeremia*. HAT 1,12. Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1968.
- Sæbø, Magne. "Messianism in Chronicles?" *HBT* 2 (1980): 85-109.
- _____. *On the Way to Canon: Creative Tradition History in the Old Testament*. JSOTSup 191. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1998.
- Sailhamer, John H. "1 Chronicles 21:1 -- A Study in Inter-Biblical Interpretation" *Trinity Journal* 10 (1989): 33-48.
- Sanders, James A. *Torah and Canon*. Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1972.
- _____. "Biblical Criticism and the Bible as Canon." *USQR* 32, no. 3 & 4 (1977): 157-65.
- Sarna, Nahum. "Psalm 89: A Study in Inner Biblical Exegesis." In *Biblical and Other Studies*, ed. Alexander Altmann, 29-46. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1963.
- Schaefer, Glenn Edward. "The Significance of Seeking God in the Purpose of the Chronicler." PhD dissertation, Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, 1972.
- Schaper, Joachim. "Rereading the Law: Inner-Biblical Exegesis of Divine Oracles in Ezekiel 44 and Isaiah 56." In *Recht und Ethik im Alten Testament*, ed. Bernard M. Levinson and Eckart Otto, 125-44. ATM 13. Münster: LIT-Verlag, 2004.
- Scheering, Linda S., and Steven L. McKenzie, eds. *Those Elusive Deuteronomists: The Phenomenon of Pan-Deuteronomism*. JSOTSup 268. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1999.

- Schibler, Daniel. "Messianism and Messianic Prophecy in Isaiah 1-12 and 28-33." In *The Lord's Anointed: Interpretation of Old Testament Messianic Texts*, ed. Philip E. Satterthwaite, Richard S. Hess, and Gordon J. Wenham, 87-104. Carlisle and Grand Rapids: Paternoster Press and Baker Books, 1995.
- Schipper, Jeremy. "'Significant Resonances' with Mephibosheth in 2 Kings 25:27-30: A Response to Donald F. Murray." *JBL* 124, no. 3 (2005): 521-29.
- Schmitt, Armin. "Das prophetische Sondergut in II Chr. xx 14-17." In *Kinder des Wortes: Festschrift für Josef Schreiner*, ed. Lothar Ruppert, Peter Weimar, and Erich Zenger, 273-83. Würzburg: Echter Verlag, 1982.
- Schniedewind, William M. "History or Homily: Toward an Understanding of the Chronicler's Purpose." In *Proceedings of the Eleventh World Congress of Jewish Studies*, 91-97. Jerusalem: World Union of Jewish Studies, 1993.
- _____. *The Word of God in Transition: From Prophet to Exegete in the Second Temple Period*. JSOTSup 197. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1995.
- _____. "Prophets and Prophecy in the Books of Chronicles." In *The Chronicler as Historian*, ed. Steven L. McKenzie, M. Patrick Graham, and Kenneth G. Hoglund, 204-24. JSOTSup 238. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1997.
- _____. *Society and the Promise to David: Reception History of 2 Samuel 7:1-17*. New York, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999.
- Schultz, Richard L. *The Search for Quotation: Verbal Parallels in the Prophets*. JSOTSup 180. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1999.
- Schweitzer, Steven J. *Reading Utopia in Chronicles*. New York; London: T & T Clark, 2007.
- Seeligmann, Isac Leo. "Voraussetzungen der Midraschexegese." In *Congress Volume: Copenhagen 1953*, 150-81. VTSup 1. Leiden: Brill, 1953.
- _____. "Die Auffassung von der Prophetie in der deuteronomistischen und chronistischen Geschichtsschreibung." In *Congress Volume: Göttingen*, ed. J. A. Emerton, et al., 254-84. VTSup 29. Leiden: Brill, 1978.
- _____. "The Beginnings of Midrash in the Books of Chronicles." *Tarbiz* 49 (1980): 14-32.
- _____. "Problems and Perspectives in Modern Septuagint Research." *Textus* 15 (1990): 181-201.
- Seidel, Moshe. "Parallels between Isaiah and Psalms." *Sinai* 38 (1955-56): 149-72, 229-40, 72-80, 335-55.
- Seitz, Christopher R. "The Crisis of Interpretation Over the Meaning and Purpose of the Exile." *VT* 35, no. 1 (1985): 78-97.

- _____. *Theology in Conflict: Reactions to the Exile in the Book of Jeremiah*. BZAW 176. Berlin, New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1989.
- _____. "The Divine Council: Temporal Transition and New Prophecy in the Book of Isaiah." *JBL* 109 (1990): 229-46.
- _____. *Zion's Final Destiny*. Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1991.
- _____. "Account A and the Annals of Sennacherib: A Reassessment." *JSOT* 58 (1993): 47-57.
- _____. *Isaiah 1-39*. Interpretation. Louisville: John Knox Press, 1993.
- Selman, Martin J. *1 Chronicles*. TOTC. Leicester, England; Downers Grove, Illinois: Inter-Varsity Press, 1994.
- _____. *2 Chronicles*. TOTC. Leicester, England; Downers Grove, Illinois: Inter-Varsity Press, 1994.
- _____. "Jerusalem in Chronicles." In *Zion, City of Our God*, ed. Richard Hess and Gordon Wenham, 43-56. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1999.
- Sharon, Diane M. *Patterns of Destiny: Narrative Structures of Foundation and Doom in the Hebrew Bible*. Winona Lake, Indiana: Eisenbrauns, 2002.
- Sharp, Carolyn J. *Prophecy and Ideology in Jeremiah: Struggles for Authority in Deutero-Jeremianic Prose*. OTS. London; New York: T & T Clark, 2003.
- Shaver, Judson R. *Torah and the Chronicler's History Work: An Inquiry into the Chronicler's References to Laws, Festivals, and Cultic Institutions in Relationship to Pentateuchal Legislation*. BJS 196. Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1989.
- Shea, W. H. "Sennacherib's Second Palestinian Campaign." *JBL* 104 (1985): 401-18.
- Sheppard, Gerald T. "Canonization: Hearing the Voice of the Same God through Historically Dissimilar Traditions." *Int* 36 (1982): 21-33.
- _____. "Canon." In *Encyclopedia of Religion*. Vol. 3. 62-9. New York: Macmillan, 1987.
- _____. *The Future of the Bible: Beyond Liberalism and Literalism*. United Church of Canada: United Church Publishing, 1990.
- _____. "The Book of Isaiah: Competing Structures According to a Late Modern Description of Its Shape and Scope." In *SBL 1992 Seminar Papers*, ed. Eugene H. Lovering, Jr., 549-82. SBLSP 31. Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1992.
- _____. "Canonical Criticism." In *ABD*, 861-66. New York: Doubleday, 1992.

- Shipp, R. M. "'Remember his Covenant Forever': A Study of the Chronicler's Use of the Psalms." *RQ* 35 (1992): 29-39.
- Slotki, Israel W. *Chronicles*. London: Soncino, 1952.
- Smart, John David. *History and Theology in Second Isaiah: A Commentary on Isaiah 35, 40-66*. Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1965.
- Smelik, Klaas. "Distortion of Old Testament Prophecy: The Purpose of Isaiah xxvi and xxvii." In *Crises and Perspectives: Studies in Ancient Near Eastern Polytheism*, ed. Johannes C. de Moor, 70-93. OTS 24. Leiden: Brill 1989.
- _____. *Converting the Past: Studies in Ancient Israelite and Moabite Historiography*. OTS 28. Leiden; New York; Köln: E. J. Brill, 1992.
- _____. "The Representation of King Ahaz in 2 Kings 16 and 2 Chronicles 28." In *Intertextuality in Ugarit and Israel*, ed. Johannes C. de Moor, 143-85. OTS 40. Leiden: Brill, 1998.
- Smend, Rudolf. "Das Gesetz und die Völker: ein Beitrag zur deuteronomistischen Redaktionsgeschichte." In *Probleme biblischer Theologie*, ed. Hans Walter Wolff, 494-509. Munich: Chr. Kaiser Verlag, 1971.
- _____. "Tradition and History: A Complex Relation." In *Tradition and Theology in the Old Testament*, ed. Douglas A. Knight, 49-68. London: SPCK, 1977.
- Sommer, Benjamin D. "Exegesis, Allusion and Intertextuality in the Hebrew Bible: A Response to Lyle Eslinger." *VT* 46 (1996): 479-88.
- _____. *A Prophet Reads Scripture: Allusion in Isaiah 40-66*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1998.
- _____. "Inner-biblical Interpretation." In *The Jewish Study Bible*, ed. Adele Berlin and Marc Zvi Brettler, 1829-35. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004.
- Spawn, Kevin L. *"As It Is Written" and Other Citation Formulae in the Old Testament*. BZAW 311. Berlin; New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2002.
- Spieckermann, Hermann. *Juda unter Assur in der Sargonidenzeit*. FRLANT 129. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1982.
- Spinoza, Baruch. "Theological-Political Treatise (1670)." In *The Chief Works of Benedict de Spinoza*. New York, 1957.
- Stackert, Jeffrey. *Rewriting the Torah: Literary Revision in Deuteronomy and the Holiness Legislation*. FAT 52. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2007.
- Stade, Bernhard. "Deuteriosacharja: Eine kritische Studie." *ZAW* 1/2 (1881-82): 1-96, 151-72.

- _____. "Miscellen: Anmerkungen zu 2 Kö. 15-21." *ZAW* 6 (1886): 152-92.
- Stamm, Johann Jakob. "La prophétie d'Emmanuel." *RHPR* 23 (1943): 1-26.
- Steck, Odil Hannes. *Bereitete Heimkehr: Jesaja 35 als redactionelle Brücke zwischen dem Ersten und dem Zweiten Jesaja*. SBS 121. Stuttgart: Katholisches Bibelwerk, 1985.
- _____. *Gottesknecht und Zion: Gesammelte Aufsätze zu Deuterojesaja*. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1992.
- _____. *Old Testament Exegesis: A Guide to the Methodology*. Translated by James D. Nogalski. 2nd ed. Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1998.
- Steins, Georg. "Die Bücher der Chronik." In *Einleitung in das Alte Testament*, ed. Erich Zenger, 166-83. Stuttgart, Berlin, Köln: Kohlhammer-Studienbücher Theologie, 1995.
- _____. *Die Chronik als kanonisches Abschlussphaenomen: Studien zur Entstehung und Theologie von 1/2 Chronik*. BBB 93. Weinheim: Beltz Athenaeum, 1995.
- _____. "Torabindung und Kanonabschluß: zur Entstehung und kanonischen Funktion der Chronikbücher." In *Die Tora als Kanon für Juden und Christen*, ed. Erich Zenger, 213-56. HBS 10. Freiburg: Herder, 1996.
- _____. "Zur Datierung der Chronik - Ein neuer methodischer Ansatz." *ZAW* 109 (1997): 84-92.
- _____. *Die "Bindung Isaaks" im Kanon (Gen 22): Grundlagen und Programm einer Kanonisch-Intertextuellen Lektüre*. HBS 20. Freiburg: Herder, 1999.
- Stinespring, William Franklin. "Eschatology in Chronicles." *JBL* 80 (1961): 209-19.
- Sugimoto, Tomotoshi. "The Chronicler's Techniques in Quoting Samuel-Kings." *AJBI* 6 (1990): 30-70.
- _____. "Chronicles as Independent Literature." *JSOT* 55 (1992): 61-74.
- Sweeney, Marvin A. *Isaiah 1-4 and the Post-Exilic Understanding of the Isaianic Tradition*. BZAW 171. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1988.
- _____. "The Book of Isaiah in Recent Research." *CurBS* 1 (1993): 141-62.
- _____. *Isaiah 1-39: with an Introduction to Prophetic Literature*. FOTL 16. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1996.

- Talmon, Shemaryahu. "The Concepts of Mashiach and Messianism in Early Judaism." In *The Messiah: Developments in Earliest Judaism and Christianity*, ed. James H. Charlesworth, 79-115. Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1992.
- Talshir, David. "A Reinvestigation of the Linguistic Relationship between Chronicles and Ezra-Nehemiah." *VT* 38 (1988): 165-93.
- Talshir, Zipora. "The Three Deaths of Josiah and the Strata of Biblical Historiography." *VT* 46 (1996): 213-36.
- _____. "The Reign of Solomon in the Making: Pseudo-Connections between 3 Kingdoms and Chronicles." *VT* 50 (2000): 233-49.
- _____. "Several Canon-Related Concepts Originating in Chronicles." *ZAW* 113 (2001): 386-403.
- Tan, Kim Huat. *The Zion Traditions and the Aims of Jesus*. SNTSMS 91. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997.
- Taylor, Marion Ann. "Jeremiah 45: The Problem of Placement." *JSOT* 37 (1987): 79-98.
- Terblanche, Marius. "No Need for a Prophet Like Jeremiah: The Absence of the Prophet Jeremiah in Kings." In *Past, Present, Future: The Deuteronomistic History and the Prophets*, ed. Johannes C. de Moor and Harry F. van Rooy, 306-314. Leiden; Boston; Köln: Brill, 2000.
- Thackeray, H. St. John. "The Greek Translators of the Four Books of Kings." *JTS* 8 (1907): 262-78.
- Then, Reinhold. "*Gibt es denn keinen mehr unter den Propheten?*" *Zum Fortgang der alttestamentlichen Prophetie in frühjüdischer Zeit*. BEATAJ 22. Frankfurt am Main: Lang, 1990.
- Thiel, Winfried. *Die deuteronomistische Redaktion von Jeremia 26-45*. Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1981.
- Thompson, John Arthur. *The Book of Jeremiah*. NICOT. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1980.
- Throntveit, Mark A. "Linguistic Analysis and the Question of Authorship in Chronicles, Ezra and Nehemiah." *VT* 32 (1982): 201-16.
- _____. *When Kings Speak: Royal Speech and Royal Prayer in Chronicles*. SBLDS 93. Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1987.
- _____. "Hezekiah in the Books of Chronicles." In *Society of Biblical Literature 1988 Seminar Papers*, ed. D J. Lull, 302-11. SBLSP 27. Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1988.

- _____. "The Chronicler's Speeches and Historical Reconstruction." In *The Chronicler as Historian*, ed. Steven L. McKenzie, M. Patrick Graham, and Kenneth G. Hoglund, 225-45. JSOTSup 238. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1997.
- _____. "The Relationship of Hezekiah to David and Solomon in the Books of Chronicles." In *The Chronicler as Theologian*, ed. Steven L. McKenzie, M. Patrick Graham, and Gary N. Knoppers, 105-21. JSOTSup 371. London, New York: T & T Clark, 2003.
- _____. "Songs in a New Key: The Psalmic Structure of the Chronicler's Hymn (1 Chr 16:8-36)." In *A God So Near: Essays on OT Theology in Honor of Patrick D. Miller*, ed. Brent A. Strawn and Nancy R. Bowen, 153-70. Winona Lake, Indiana: Eisenbrauns, 2003.
- Tigay, Jeffrey H. *Deuteronomy*. JPSTC. Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society of America, 1996.
- Torrey, Charles Cutler. "The Chronicler as Editor and as Independent Narrator." *AJSL* 25, no. 2/3 (1908-9): 157-73 and 188-217.
- _____. *The Second Isaiah: A New Interpretation*. New York; Edinburgh: Scribners; T & T Clark, 1928.
- _____. "The Background of Jeremiah 1-10." *JBL* 56 (1937): 193-216.
- Tov, Emanuel. "Some Aspects of the Textual and Literary History of the Book of Jeremiah." In *Le Livre de Jérémie: Le Prophète et son Milieu les Oracles et leur Transmission*, ed. Pierre-Maurice Bogaert, 145-67. BETL 54. Leuven: University Press, 1981.
- Tuell, Steven S. *First and Second Chronicles*. Int. Louisville: Westminster/John Knox Press, 2001.
- Ulrich, Eugene. *The Qumran Text of Samuel and Josephus*. HSM 19. Missoula, MT: Scholars Press, 1978.
- Ussishkin, David. *The Conquest of Lachish by Sennacherib*. PIA 6. Tel Aviv: Tel Aviv University, Institute of Archaeology, 1982.
- Van den Berg, Evert. "Fact and Imagination in the History of Hezekiah in 2 Kings 18-20." In *Unless Someone Guide Me*, ed. J. W. Dyk, et al., 129-36. Maastricht: Uitgeverij Shaker Publishing, 2001.
- Van Rooy, Harry V. "Prophet and Society in the Persian Period according to Chronicles." In *Second Temple Studies 2: Temple Community in the Persian Period*, ed. Tamar C. Eskenazi and Kent H. Richards, 163-79. JSOTSup 175. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1994.

- Van Seters, John. *In Search of History: Historiography in the Ancient World and the Origins of Biblical History*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1983.
- _____. "The Chronicler's Account of Solomon's Temple Building: A Continuity Theme." In *The Chronicler as Historian*, ed. M. P. Graham, Kenneth G. Hoglund and Steven L. McKenzie, 283-300. JSOTSup 238. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1997.
- _____. "Creative Imitation in the Hebrew Bible." *SR* 29, no. 4 (2000): 395-409.
- Vaughn, Andrew G. *Theology, History, and Archaeology in the Chronicler's Account of Hezekiah*. Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1999.
- Veijola, Timo. *Die ewige Dynastie: David und die Entstehung seiner Dynastie nach der deuteronomistischen Darstellung*. STT 193. Helsinki: Suomalainen Tiedekatemia, 1975.
- Vermes, Geza. "Bible and Midrash: Early Old Testament Exegesis." In *The Cambridge History of the Bible. I. From the Beginnings to Jerome*, ed. Peter Ackroyd and Christopher Evans, 199-231. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970.
- Vermeulen, Jacques. "L'unité du livre d'Isaïe." In *The Book of Isaiah*, ed. Jacques Vermeulen, 11-53. BETL 81. Leuven: University Press, 1989.
- Volz, Paul. *Der prophet Jeremia*. KZAT. Leipzig, 1922.
- Wallace, Howard N. "What Chronicles Has to Say about Psalms." In *The Chronicler as Author: Studies in Text and Texture*, ed. M. Patrick Graham and Steven L. McKenzie, 267-91. JSOTSup 263. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1999.
- Wanke, Gunther. *Die Zionstheologie der Korachiten*. BZAW 97. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1966.
- _____. *Untersuchungen zur sogenannten Baruchsschrift*. BZAW 122. Berlin: De Gruyter, 1971.
- Watts, James W. *Psalm and Story: Inset Hymns in Hebrew Narrative*, 155-68. JSOTSup 139. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1992.
- Watts, John D. W. *Isaiah 34-66*. WBC 25. Waco, Texas: Word Books, 1987.
- Wegner, Paul D. *An Examination of Kingship and Messianic Expectation in Isaiah 1-35*. Lewiston, New York: Edwin Mellen Press, 1992.
- Weinberg, Joel P. "Die 'ausser kanonischen Prophetzeiungen'." *Acta Antiqua* 26 (1978): 387-404.
- Weinfeld, Moshe. *Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomistic School*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1972.

- _____. "Zion and Jerusalem as Religious and Political Capital: Ideology and Utopia." In *The Poet and the Historian: Essays in Literary and Historical Biblical Criticism*, ed. Richard Elliott Friedman, 75-115. Chico, California: Scholars Press, 1983.
- Weingreen, Jacob. *From Bible to Mishna: The Continuity of Tradition*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1976.
- Weippert, Helga. *Die Prosareden des Jeremiabuches*. BZAW 132. Berlin, New York: de Gruyter, 1973.
- _____. "Das Wort vom Neuen Bund in Jeremia xxxi 31-34." *VT* 29 (1979): 336-51.
- _____. "Das deuteronomistische Geschichtswerk: Sein Ziel und Ende in der neueren Forschung." *Theologische Rundschau* 50 (1985): 213-49.
- Welch, Adam C. *The Work of the Chronicler: Its Purpose and its Date*. London: Oxford University Press, 1939.
- Wellhausen, Julius. *Prolegomena to the History of Israel*. Translated by John Sutherland Black and Allan Menzies. Edinburgh: A & C Black, 1885.
- Welten, Peter. *Geschichte und Geschichtsdarstellung in den Chronikbüchern*. WMANT 42. Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1973.
- Westermann, Claus. *Basic Forms of Prophetic Speech*. Translated by Hugh Clayton White. London: Lutterworth Press, 1967.
- _____. *Prophetische Heilsworte im Alten Testament*. FRLANT. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1987.
- Wette, Wilhelm de. *Kritischer Versuch über die Glaubwürdigkeit der Bücher der Chronik mit Hinsicht auf die Geschichte der Mosaischen Bücher und Gesetzgebung*. Halle: Schimmelpfennig & Compagnie, 1806.
- Whitelam, Keith W. "Israel's Traditions of Origin: Reclaiming the Land." *JSOT* 44 (1989): 32-36.
- Wildberger, Hans. "Die Rede des Rabsake vor Jerusalem." *TZ* 35 (1979): 35-47.
- _____. *Isaiah 1-12: A Commentary*. Translated by Thomas H. Trapp. Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1991.
- Wiley, Patricia Tull. *Remember the Former Things: The Recollection of Previous Texts in Second Isaiah*. SBLDS 161. Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1997.
- Willi, Thomas. *Die Chronik als Auslegung*. FRLANT 106. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1972.

- _____. *Chronik*. BKAT 24/1. Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1991.
- _____. *Juda-Jehud-Israel. Studien zum Selbstverständnis des Judentums in persischer Zeit*. FAT 12. Tübingen: Mohr-Siebeck, 1995.
- Williamson, Hugh G. M. "The Accession of Solomon in the Books of Chronicles." *VT* 26 (1976): 351-61.
- _____. "Eschatology in Chronicles." *TynBul* 28 (1977): 115-54.
- _____. *Israel in the Books of Chronicles*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977.
- _____. "'The Sure Mercies of David': Subjective or Objective Genitive?" *JSS* 23 (1978): 68-90.
- _____. "Sources and Redaction in the Chronicler's Genealogy of Judah." *JBL* 98 (1979): 351-59.
- _____. *1 and 2 Chronicles*. NCB. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1982.
- _____. "The Dynastic Oracle in the Books of Chronicles." In *Essays on the Bible and the Ancient World, Vol. 3*, ed. Alexander Rofé and Yair Zakovitch, 305-18. Jerusalem: E. Rubinstein's Publishing House, 1983.
- _____. "History." In *It is Written: Scripture Citing Scripture*, ed. D. A. Carson and Hugh Williamson, 25-38. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988.
- _____. "The Temple in the Books of Chronicles." In *Templum Amicitiae: Essays on the Second Temple presented to Ernst Bammel*, ed. William Horbury, 15-31. JSOTSup 48. Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1991.
- _____. *The Book Called Isaiah: Deutero-Isaiah's Role in Composition and Redaction*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994.
- _____. "Hezekiah and the Temple." In *Texts, Temples, and Traditions: A Tribute to Menahem Haran*, ed. Michael V. Fox, et al., 47-52. Winona Lake, Indiana: Eisenbrauns, 1996.
- _____. "The Messianic Texts in Isaiah 1-39." In *King and Messiah in Israel and the Ancient Near East*, ed. John Day, 238-70. JSOTSup 270. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1998.
- Wolff, Hans Walter. "The Kerygma of the Deuteronomistic Historical Work." In *The Vitality of the Old Testament Traditions*, ed. Walter Brueggemann and Hans Walter Wolff, 83-100. Atlanta: John Knox Press, 1975.
- Wright, A. G. . "The Literary Genre Midrash." *CBQ* 28 (1966): 105-38, 417-57.

- Wright, John W. "The Legacy of David in Chronicles: The Narrative Function of 1 Chronicles 23-27." *JBL* 110, no. 2 (1991): 229-42.
- _____. "The Founding Father: The Structure of the Chronicler's David Narrative." *JBL* 117, no. 1 (1998): 45-59.
- Würthwein, Ernst. "Die josianische Reform und das Deuteronomium." *ZTK* 73 (1976): 395-423.
- _____. *Die Bücher der Könige: 1 Kön 17-2 Kön 25*. ATD 11/2. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1984.
- Young, Ian, Robert Rezetko, and Martin Ehrensverd. *Linguistic Dating of Biblical Texts*. Vol. 2. London/Oakville, CT: Equinox, 2008.
- Zakovitch, Yair. *An Introduction to Inner-Biblical Interpretation*. Even Yehudah: Rekhes, 1992.
- Zalewski, Saul. "The Purpose of the Story of the Death of Saul in 1 Chronicles X." *VT* 39, no. 4 (1989): 49-67.
- Zenger, Erich. "Die Deuteronomistische Interpretation der Rehabilitierung Jojachins." *BZ* 12 (1968): 16-30.
- Zimmerli, Walther. "Zur Sprache Tritojesajas." In *Gottes Offenbarung: Gesammelte Aufsätze zum Alten Testament*, 41-119 (München: Chr. Kaiser Verlag, 1963)
- The Law and the Prophets: A Study in the Meaning of the Old Testament*. Translated by Ronald E. Clements. Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1965.
- Zunz, Leopold. "Dibre hajamim oder Bücher der Chronik." In *Die gottesdienstlichen Vorträge der Juden, historisch entwickelt*, 12-34. Berlin: Louis Lamm, 1832.

